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A POLITICAL AND MORAL
PAMPHLET,

BY

WILLIAM WARREN,

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LISGOOLD, ESQ. COUNTY OF CORK,

ADDRESSED TO THE RIGHT HON.
EARL OF CAMDEN, HIS EXCEL-
LENCY THE LORD LIEUTENANT
OF, AND TO THE PEOPLE OF IRE-
LAND.

NOT TO FAN THE FIRE OF PUBLIC
DISCORD, BUT TO SMOTHER IT IN ITS
INFANCY, BEFORE IT ARRIVES TO ANY
GREATER DEGREE OF MATURITY.

*And like the fond Parent,
My Child's cause I'll support,
At the risque of my Life.*

CORK:

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EXCHANGE.

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1797.





## P R E F A C E.

IT was not my intention to have so minutely discussed the various subjects on which I have treated ; neither was it at first my design to have introduced so many into this work. A wish to prove to the different members of this state, how intimately connected their several interests are with each other, was what persuaded me to enlarge the arduous task, that I imposed on myself. If I have effected it in such a manner, as to render mankind more susceptible of their different duties towards each other, I shall then flatter myself, that I am not unworthy of the approbation of my fellow-citizens. The work is not without imperfections, which I hope will be apologized for  
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in the same degree, as it endeavors to promote a general urbanity, and love among the various members of the state. The subject towards the conclusion is unfinished ; but then I mean to follow it up immediately for publication, with an address, stating the grievances of the united southern Irishmen, and pointing out the manner in which they are to be redressed, without subjecting the state to any inconvenience.

I have not yet given up the pursuit of that commercial monster, the combination of which I have so bitterly complained. I shall in my *next* devise such means as will lead to its destruction. That is the monster, which has revolutionized more than half the southern part of this  
great

great kingdom. It has encreased to so great a degree the dependency of the public, that each individual has been persuaded to arm themselves, the one against the other, to redress their grievances, through means, that would only fill up the measure of their wretchedness.

The government knows not the extent of the ills, that is in waiting to assail this unfortunate country ; neither do its ministers possess abilities equal to the undertaking of averting them. It is not to their wisdom, that the constitution is indebted for its present existence. It is to the fears of the people, who are unwilling for redress, to fly to ills of which they know not.

If the distresses of the people shall encrease in such a manner,



as will supercede them fears, a host of armed men must then present itself, which in conjunction, with an invading enemy, shall subvert the authority of your government. If that event should take place, all the powers of England combined, could not rescue this nation from her fate. England would then be next subdued by Irishmen, whose blood would be made to flow without measure to obtain that object.

I thank the public for the generous manner in which this work has been countenanced. The name of each subscriber should have been inserted, but that it has been objected to by many, because it bears the title of a *political* pamphlet.

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A  
P O L I T I C A L  
A N D  
M O R A L R E M E D Y

AG A I N S T

*The Disorders of the State.*

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I F Tom's and Richard's annual income of twenty pounds sterling, each, are reduced to ten pounds a year, they will not be able to consume, as usual, the different commodities arising from your manufactures, and from your commerce. It matters not, whether the produce of the soil is, in the first instance, bartered for them by the immediate proprietor of it, or whether he exchanges it for the circulating medium, the current specie of the kingdom, which is then bartered for the different commodities arising from your manufactures, and from your commerce; in either case, the same

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effects will be produced. Should the avidity of any set of men, or a combination of events, decree that the produce of the soil shall not be received in exchange, but for the one half of the different commodities arising from your manufactures, and from your commerce, in lieu of double that quantity, for which it has been hitherto bartered, it must of course follow, that the home consumption of them will decrease in a like proportion. The money that is received in exchange for the produce of the soil, is immediately disbursed to the emolument of every individual in the state. A part of it is expended towards the maintenance of the husbandman's family, who shares his favors in proportion to the revenue arising from his labors, and another part of it circulates among the lower order of men, and among the different artificers, whose labors in conjunction with his own, are necessary to bring his farm to the highest state of cultivation. This money is again disposed of, partly in purchasing the necessary apparel for the laborer, and for the mechanic, who will at all times consume your manufactures, and the different articles arising from your commerce, according to their pecuniary means. The remainder of the money, that is received in exchange for the produce of the soil, is applied to the payment of the rent of the farm, and as a future provision for the numerous offspring of the husbandman, who,

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in the order of things, contribute to the population of the state; on which, it must always depend, as the true source of its riches, and of its greatness. The amount of the rent that is handed over to the landlord, is disposed of by him in various ways; like the kind dews of heaven, its benign influence is not confined to any particular spot. A part of it, is expended in consuming some foreign production, that has been bartered for the commodities arising from your commerce. It is also distributed, in part, among your laborers, and among the different artificers, who are employed in the beautifying a country residence, or some favourite villa, which bespeaks the taste and elegance of its proprietor; whilst it affords to the lower order of the people, a pecuniary resource, that enables them to consume in greater abundance the different articles, arising from your manufactures, and from your commerce. A large portion of it is devoted to the purchasing the more costly articles of your manufactures, and of your commerce, to support a distinctional parade, that has attached itself to the superior ranks in life. Another part of it is expended on the maintenance, and in the education of the numerous offspring of the landlord, which leads inevitably, to the consumption of your manufactures, and of the different articles arising from your commerce. The remainder of it, is disposed of in making a provision for his numerous fa-



mily ; perhaps in purchasing estates from those who have expended more than what they have received in their commerce with the world.

Specie does not possess any intrinsic value. Like the different commodities arising from agriculture, from the manufactures, and from commerce, it will neither afford food nor raiment for the body. It is the avidity, with which it is received in exchange for the different articles of life, that has recommended it to the world, as an object of desire. The facility that awaits the exchange of it for any other commodity, its property of durability, the few inconveniencies that attend the possession of it, and the ease, with which it is secreted, have recommended it to the world as a circulating commodity, best fitted to promote your commercial intercourse with each other. It is therefore, the standard, that regulates the proportionable price, or value which should be affixed to each commodity.

In any state, from the event of things, the produce of the soil is a hundred per cent cheaper than the several manufactures, and commercial articles, one-half of the inhabitants will be deprived of the objects of consuming them, and the other half from the want of employment, must experience a state of indigence, that will deprive them from consuming, as usual, the products of the earth. The state that is suffering under so depressing a circumstance,



stance, will not be able to extricate itself so easily, in which, it will be involved, either sooner, or later.

Pride, hunger, and the humiliating condition, to which its several tradesmen, and its different manufacturers must be reduced, will all conspire to persuade them to emigrate. A part of the most laborious of mankind, will remain in the state, deploring the wretchedness, and misery to which their country is exposed. The manners of the husbandman will be influenced by a despondency, that will counteract the improvement of that state. Like minds that have nothing to hope, they will be reduced to a state of mere mechanical vegetation; and inactivity and sloth will assume the place of the habits of industry.

If a more flattering reward, than a bare existence, should not await the industry of the husbandman, he will confine it to that single object, and if it should be attended, at the same time, with any degree of labor, it will not be exerted in a manner that will enable him to discharge the rent of his farm. In order to enforce the payment of it, measures are carried into execution against him, which however just in themselves, yet tend to encrease the depression under which, that state labors. His chattels are distrained for the rent, and he is then ejected out of his farm. The enjoyment of better days will not suffer him to labor, and he is ashamed to beg; he at last resolves



resolves to forsake his native land for some foreign region, whose surrounding objects will not be reminding him of his sorrows by a comparison of what he once was. In this manner emigrations will daily take place in your state, until the country is so depopulated, that the immediate proprietor of the soil will be obliged to enrol himself among the inferior ranks of either farmer or grazier.

No country in Europe, from a peculiarity of circumstances, will suffer more than this state, from an inequality in the price of the produce of the soil. It often happens, that, besides the immediate landlord, there is one, two, or three intermediate ones, who derive, separately, some interest in the grounds that are set in that manner. These different interests will be reduced in value to a mere nothing, if the inequality of the price of grain continues for any length of time. They are possessed by those, who compose the middle ranks of life, and who are the most useful members of society. This change in their circumstances, will subject them and their numerous offspring to a state of indigence, that will increase the alarming emigration which has already taken place in this kingdom. No fewer than six hundred souls from the south has emigrated this year for America.

A speculist, whose opinions are derived more from theory than from practice, or from the properties of things, acquired by  
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a foreign association, would strongly recommend, that the value of the several manufacturing, and commercial articles should be reduced to that of the products of the soil, as a remedy, that would counteract the numerous ills, which must await the several members of the state, from the inequality of the price of its grain. But for its impracticability, it would be the most effectual remedy, that could be devised. What state will supply another with its commodities, at one hundred per cent. cheaper, than what they can be sold for in any other foreign market? If a combination among you, was to take place, for the purpose of affixing a certain price, or value to every foreign commodity, most of your manufactures would cease to exist, and you would be deprived of the use of these foreign articles, that from an habitual indulgence, have recommended themselves to you as the necessaries of life.

Though the raw materials of your manufactures, and every other foreign article, were to be reduced in value to the inequality of the price of your grain, what would it avail, unless the wages of the labourer, and the different manufacturers, were in the same proportion to be reduced. Tradesmen are in general, a stiff-necked people, who will not listen to the voice of reason, neither will they be governed by a revelation, if either comes into competition with the gratification of their wishes, or the indulgence



gence of their passions. When their wages are raised by any fortuitous circumstance, it is esteemed by them as an inheritance, of which they cannot be deprived by the public without violating the rights of the state, and they consider it, as an incorporeal hereditament, that should be handed down by them, like other bodies corporate, to their successors, without suffering any sort of mutilation or change. Their situation in life, the frequent opportunities, that occur of assimilating their manners to those of superior rank, the respect, and deference, with which they are treated in the beer house, and the obedience exacted by them from those in the inferior walks of life, all conspire to influence them to support a claim, that affords the means of gratifying the several desires and wishes which arise out of these several circumstances. They imagine, that it would be on the part of the public, the height of ingratitude to deprive them of the reward of those services, which contribute so largely to administer to the ease, to the pleasure, and to the luxury of those of superior rank. Whilst their conduct is thus influenced, it would be impossible to persuade them to submit to any reduction in their wages. If the legislature of any state was to attempt to carry it into execution, they would all emigrate to a man, which would only introduce into the state a greater, in the place of a lesser evil.

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The great scarcity of specie among the commercial part of society, the monopoly of it by a few individuals, the withdrawing that mutual pecuniary confidence, which should subsist between the different members of the state, and the little attention that government has paid to the wants of the people, have in part, conspired to depress the landed interest of this kingdom. If it had been felt with a little more severity, by the different members of the state, it might have led to consequences, that would have subverted the government, and would then have annihilated a constitution, that has required ages to bring it to its present state of perfection.

That Amor Patriæ, which influenced the manners of the Grecians, and of the Romans, both in public and in private life, before the decline of their several states, has not, in general, interwove itself into the constitution of the moderns of our days, who esteem themselves citizens of the world. They are not attached to any particular spot; neither is their conduct governed by that presentment for relatives, which so closely unite together, in the bonds of love, and harmony, the several members of each family. Such characters will always be on the watch to improve the wants and the distresses of the people to the subverting of the government, that in the event, of things, it may reduce to a state of equality with themselves, the different members of the state.



If a revolution should take place in this kingdom, through the sufferings of the people, the monied men will be the object of their violence and outrage. Such of them as have contributed to increase the wants of the people, by hoarding up the specie of the kingdom, are not entitled to their protection by benefits conferred on the public. In all commercial states, where the lower orders are obliged to labor for a daily maintenance, it matters not, whether the sustenance of life is withheld from them by the more opulent, or whether they deprive them of the means of procuring it. The same effects will be produced in either case; want and misery will be their constant attendants.

If their sorrows and the wretchedness of their situation should lead them to reflect, that the more opulent ranks of the state, are indebted for their aggrandizement to the industry, and to the labors, and then to the improvidence of the poor, their resentment will be proportioned to the calamities, that they are suffering. Let him, who has made a house-hold god of his money; examine into the nature of the different services that he has conferred on each individual of the state, in the discharge of his social duties: he will then discover, that he has not done any thing to conciliate the affections of man, or to recommend himself to the favor of his God. Neither the enjoyments of luxury, or the pleasures that await the so-  
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cial board, nor the incentives of the more lively, and animating passions, have power sufficient over that man's soul to persuade him to take one solitary guinea from his coffers, that it may be returned back into society, in acknowledgement of those benefits, which it has conferred on him. What have such men to expect, when told by an all-seeing Judge; "I was  
 " an hungered, and ye gave me no meat;  
 " I was thirsty, and ye gave me no drink;  
 " I was a stranger, and ye took me not in;  
 " naked, and ye clothed me not; sick, and  
 " in prison, and ye visited me not. Whoso-  
 " ever doeth it unto any of my little ones,  
 " doeth it unto me." "Ye have, out of  
 " the baseness of thy hearts, perverted the  
 " providential ways, that my heavenly Fa-  
 " ther, in the fullness of his divine wisdom,  
 " hath thought fit to ordain for the good  
 " of his people. Ye have thereby, made  
 " him a reproach unto his people, and ye  
 " have provoked them into rebellion against  
 " the sacredness of his laws, and they have  
 " not glorified him." "Wo unto the world  
 " because of offences; for it must needs be,  
 " that offences come; but wo to that man  
 " by whom the offence cometh. Whatso-  
 " ever measure, ye mete withal, it shall  
 " be measured unto you. Not every one,  
 " that sayeth unto me, Lord, Lord, shall en-  
 " ter into the kingdom of heaven; but he,  
 " that doeth the will of my Father which  
 " is in heaven. "The laws were engraven  
 " in thy hearts; but thee suffered them to



‘ be erased by the perverseness of thy nature.’ Were all men Callanans, and all females, Spratts, the insolence that attaches itself to the superior ranks in life, would not be felt by the inferior orders of men, and their indigence would be relieved out of the abundance of the rich man’s store. They would not then rise into rebellion to destroy those laws that have created the several distinctions which exist in every state for the general good of all its members, and they would then glorify their God.

When a state is visited by any calamity, whether of a foreign, or of a domestic nature, each member should put away his apprehensions, and his fears, that he may enjoy the full exercise of his understanding. Under the impressions of either, he cannot direct his judgment in the choice of those measures that are best fitted to meet the ills, that may arise out of that calamity. It is melancholy to reflect how little man thinks for himself, and that in general his thoughts are not his own, but borrowed of those, with whom he associates. His mind is seldom employed in the contemplation of more distant objects, and he suffers himself, on every occasion in life, to be so influenced by his apprehensions, and his fears, that his conduct in general, is diametrically opposite to his interest.

It must have been the apprehensions of fear, that influenced the different members  
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of this state to withdraw that mutual pecuniary confidence which should subsist among them. A commercial state, that is in the habits of exchanging one commodity for another, must severely feel the dreadful inconveniencies that are attached to so impolitic a measure. It has absolutely suspended all commercial intercourse between the different members of the state. This unmeaning and impolitic conduct, has introduced into the state calamities, that have alienated more than one-half of the people's affections from its government. A man who does not find himself in the free enjoyment of those blessings that he has a right to expect from his rank in life, cannot have any interest in the welfare of his country. To him all men, and all measures are the same, except such, as will affect a change in his situation. You, who are contributing to fill up the measure of the wretchedness of your country ; what have you not to apprehend from a divided people, a disaffected militia, an empty treasury, and an invading army; if a revolution should take place in this kingdom, from the coalesced operation of these different means, you will then discover the folly of your wisdom, and you will be made to know, that the value of your money, would have been more secure, if it had been vested in the funds, or otherwise disposed of.

Money would be the principal object of an invading army. A pecuniary reward,  
and



and the resentment of the different members of the state, against those, who have hoarded up the current specie of the kingdom, would soon direct the notice of the enemy to the *Plutus*es of your age. Their treasure, from its being of so portable a nature, would be easily conveyed away; whilst the funds, and the land, would remain in the state unmolested. But that others would be involved in the calamities that must produce such an event, it should be considered as one of those providential dispensations that was intended as a chastisement for their ingratitude to the state, who protected them in the enjoyment of it, and for their ingratitude, also, to the people whose labors were the efficient cause of its accumulation.

The different orders of the state can no more exist without a mutual intercourse of services, than the several members of the body in the fable. If the monied men, and the merchants were to enter into resolutions, that they would not co-operate with each other, trade would cease to exist, and money would lose its value. If the husbandmen, and the manufacturers were to enter into the like resolutions, and that the different relative ranks of the community were actuated in the same unmeaning manner, the state, which is the body of the people, would be deprived of the use and exercise of their kind offices, that contribute to the political existence of its several members.



members. A state that is deprived of these offices must cease to exist, which will terminate in a dissolution of its political members.

Any member, who does not contribute unto the state, his services in return for the benefits which he has received, should be sent to coventry, in order that he may thereby, be instructed in those social duties that cannot be dispensed with, without violating those rights, that are annexed to every community. The state should deprive him of all commercial intercourse with its several members, from which, he can possibly derive any pecuniary benefit. If he possesses lands, they will then be untenanted, or if he possesses money, it will be to him an unprofitable store. When he has expended on the state, a considerable part of his property, in purchasing the several necessaries of life, from its different members, it will instruct him in his social duties. He will then begin to fault the manners of its several members, and he will complain of their ingratitude in partaking of his benefits, without any return on their part. But then, they may retort on him, by saying, such was our situation in respect of you, until you were put into a state of coventry.

It is a pity that there is not erected in every parish, throughout the kingdom, an inquisitorial court of censors to take cognizance of the manners of the people. If unprejudiced  
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men, of integrity, and of discernment, could be obtained to preside in each court, the effects that would result from such an institution, might in time supercede the criminal part of your laws ; and every benefit that the speculist has attached to his favorite state of equality, would be enjoyed by the people, without being subject to the ills that must arise out of so heterogeneous a form of government.

The people had a right to expect that government would have adopted such measures as would have alleviated their sufferings. They were entitled to it, from their devolving their natural powers into the hands of the legislative, and executive parts of the constitution. It was acquiesced in by the people, upon condition, that it should be exerted in promoting the welfare of the state. When these powers are either misapplied, or abused by your ministers, they should be punished, according to the degree of calamities that the state suffers, in consequence of the misapplication, or of the abuse of them powers.

Ignorance, nor inability, should never be suffered to form any part of the minister's apology. If either were to be admitted as an excuse, it would open a door for ministerial abuse, which too often involves the state into difficulties, that are the source of the sufferings of the people. There are always implied conditions annexed to the appointment of every office ; such as, that  
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the duties of it shall be discharged with fidelity, with honor, and with profit. He who is appointed to any office, must accept it on them terms. If he fails in the execution of its duties, he should be punished, that it might deter all men from accepting offices, from which they were excluded, either by inabilities, or through the want of better principles.

Not any minister can be ignorant of that degree of responsibility which should be attached to his office. If a person in a private capacity takes charge of another man's property, and that through his negligence, it suffers an action on the case will lie against him, to recover damages for his breach of confidence ; and damages will be awarded against him, not only as a satisfaction, or compensation to the party injured, but also as a punishment for the transgression of his social duties. Since the offences committed by ministers in their official capacities, are both of a private, and of a public nature, your laws should take cognizance of them in like manner. They should discriminate between the minister whose property is sufficient to compensate the different individuals of the state, for the injuries that they suffer through his offences, and him, whose property is not sufficient for that purpose. Some corporeal punishment should be inflicted on him, who had not sufficient property to atone for his offences. Those of a more atrocious nature, such as the misapplication, and an embezzlement of the

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public



public money, and property, or a wanton attack on the liberty of the subject, or an abuse of office, should be esteemed as crimes, *mala in se* and not as offences, *mala prohibita*, that they may be punished accordingly.

That the public might enjoy every benefit, that may be derived from such an institution; a public accuser should be appointed, with pains, and penalties, annexed to the non-performance of his official duties. Every degree of publicity, and of solemnity, should attend the trial with as little delay, on the part of the prosecution as could possibly be incurred. It should be exempted from every degree of formality, which would render it, either complex, or tedious, that conviction, and judgment might immediately follow. If such an institution formed a part of your laws, you would not behold any longer, ministers enjoying offices, like an estate for life, or by sufferance, that yields most, when most abused.

The order of council that was issued out by government to the national bank to suspend for a time all payments in specie, should have been extended to every private banking-house in the kingdom. The novelty of the measure would certainly, in the first instance, have alarmed the body of the people, particularly the *plutuses* of our age: but the necessity of the measure, would have apologized for it. The general greater good that would have resulted from that measure, would have been a full compensation to the public for the lesser inconveniences



niences it might have introduced into the state. The interest of the people demanded that such a measure should have been carried into execution.

Those implied rights of the people, that are annexed to all social compacts, and the political powers, thereby vested in government would have afforded ministers sufficient sanction, if they had carried that measure into execution. It would have been disagreeable to a few individuals of the state; its *plutuses* whose clamor a resolution of the house, and the contempt of their fellow-citizens would have soon silenced.

The spirit of your laws is to take cognizance of every matter that can either depress, or promote the interest of the people. It will not suffer the lesser number of individuals to aggrandize itself to the annoyance of the greater number. It is this spirit, that is the basis of all your laws against owling, usury, fore-stalling, regrating, monopolies, and several others too tedious for an epistolary enumeration. If the government in its legislative capacity, can establish pains and penalties against such public offences, and then enforce them in its executive capacity; how much more deserving of its notice is the offence of a pecuniary combination, that has entailed so much misery on the people, and now threatens the very existence of the state.

It is impossible to unravel the reasons, and motives of Mr. P-----m's political conduct,



duct after the order of council had been issued. They are like unmeaning enigmas, which bear no affinity to their allusions; but that are involved in absurdity, and in nonsense. If one was to make any enquiry about what his brethren were doing on so momentous an occasion, he must expect to receive the same information that lord Chesterfield communicated to a person who had asked his lordship, what was king George the second doing; to which his lordship immediately replied, nothing. He was then asked, what was the minister, his grace the duke of Newcastle doing; to which he replied, helping majesty.

The manner in which the banking business of the metropolis of England is conducted, differs so materially from that of this kingdom at large, that the adoption of the same measures for either kingdom, would be highly impolitic. The commercial spirit of the English, and a knowledge of how much the public welfare is immediately connected with their several private interests, have anticipated for them the general good, that might be derived from a greater pecuniary coercion in this kingdom. Here the lender receives from the borrower the interest of his money that is due, either by bond, or by mortgage, or on public security, without any regard to the public commercial means, that are primarily the efficient cause of its being paid. The landlord receives his rent from the tenant in the same manner; in short it seems to be also  
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the predominant feature of all the higher ranks in life. It has been a matter of doubt, whether the reverend ----- would have gone last spring circuit, if their salaries had not been paid, as their horses could not travel without oats.

Men, whose manners are subject to the dominion of such impolitic self-interest, will always on any public alarm, withdraw their money out of the several banks in the kingdom. The order of council for that reason, should have been extended to all the private banking-houses. A meeting of the respectable inhabitants of each county and of its cities, should then have taken place, to have reported to government the solvency of their banking-houses. The notes of such of the banking-houses as were represented to government to be in a state of responsibility, should then have been declared a legal tender within the precincts of the county of such banking-houses. The legality of their tender should be limited, in its operation to the county, in which they were in the first instance issued, that if any pecuniary loss should arise from the insolvency of any banking-house, it might be experienced only by those who declared it to be in a state of responsibility. The national bank notes of this and of the sister kingdom, should have been declared legal tenders in any part of the state.

If the daily quantity of water that supplies any river is less than that which  
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runs out of it, it must in a short time be deprived of its waters. This is literally in respect of specie, the situation of all the banking-houses in the kingdom. In all great commercial kingdoms the pecuniary demands of their several claimants, must at all times be greater than the amount of the current specie of those kingdoms. From this existing circumstance in your, and every other, commercial state, it would be impossible, without a great latitude of indulgence on the part of the public, to form a capital, that would in times of alarm, and of danger, enable the several proprietors of the different banking-houses to answer the pecuniary demands on them, and that would enable them, at the same time to continue their business as bankers.

The truth of that proposition is undeniable. It requires very little elucidation to prove, that it has that quality attached to it in a very high degree. For the sake of argument, let it be supposed that a company of gentlemen, open a banking-house in the city of Cork, with a capital of six hundred thousands of pounds sterling, which would be fully adequate to the extent of its commerce, if it was to be in a state of circulation. Although that sum is great, it would not be sufficient to meet the amount of all the pecuniary demands of those several persons, whose property consists, partly, and chiefly, of money due, either on book-account



account, or by note and bond, or by mortgage, or on public security.

Commerce is of so diffuse a nature, that a part of the six hundred thousands of pounds must circulate among those who are indebted to these pecuniary claimants. Their debtors will gladly hand it over to them. In this manner the whole of the six hundred thousands of pounds, will be in a very short time appropriated solely to their use.

Now that the six hundred thousands of pounds is in the possession of those, who will not suffer it to circulate, how is it possible for the merchant, the manufacturer, the tradesman, the victualler, and the shop-keeper, &c. &c. to pay the different parts of the six hundred thousands of pounds, that each borrowed from the proprietors of that banking-house? How is it possible, that they can pay it in any manner, when the different articles for which it was exchanged, remain unsold for the want of the circulation of specie? Or how is it possible, that that banking-house can transact, as usual its business, through the circulating means of the current specie of the kingdom. Though not indebted to the public one sixpence, if it were to add another six hundred thousands of pounds to its original capital, this money also, would be appropriated in the same manner, until all the pecuniary demands of the city, and of the county were discharged; an event that  
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from the nature of things cannot take place.

You are now in the possession of a few commercial truths, that will enable you to judge, whether Mr. P-----m's abilities entitle him to be the leading minister of a great state, whose very existence depends on the welfare of its agriculture, its manufactures, and of its commerce. Instead of coming forward in the house to propose measures adequate to the pecuniary exigencies of the public, he very facetiously entertains its members, with a story of a Bull, a Cock, and a roasted Soldier. He tells them that the stoppages of your national bank, was *only* a political measure on the part of government, to keep the specie in the kingdom, which otherwise, would find its way into the sister kingdom, from your commercial intercourse with her. You are afterwards informed by ministers in their senatorial capacities, that government had borrowed of the bank its original capital.

Nothing could have been more absurd, than to have confined the operations of the order of council to the national bank, that must have been without specie. It is like unto a man that suffers a river to be drained of its water by apertures, the one above the other, until it finds its level with the uppermost aperture, and who then begins to stop it up, without considering the consequences that must ensue from suffering

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ing the rest of them to remain open. Whether this is an Irish bull, or an English absurdity, let the world judge.

If the order of council was issued for the purpose of keeping the specie in the kingdom, it should have been extended alike to all the banks. It *was* a measure, which the political safety of the people would have sanctioned, and would have been supported by the voice of the people.

It would certainly have incurred the displeasure and odium of your *Plutuses*; but then they should reflect, that the word society implies a compact, which ensures to all the members collectively, of any state the use and the exercise of certain rights and privileges, without any distinction of persons. These rights and privileges are derived from the principles of humanity. They cannot be dispensed with; neither can they be superseded by any political law. If a state was either implied, or expressed, to exclude them from the body of its laws, it would not be a *civil* society, but a collection of men formed into a mass for the purpose of oppressing each other.

The use and benefits of these rights and privileges that are attached to a people in a state of civil society, would be fully exemplified by the embargo, which was laid last year on the corn of this kingdom; but that it was a wanton, impolitic, tyrannical measure. Had government been well assured  
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that a scarcity of grain would have taken place in the kingdom, if it had suffered the grain to have been exported, it would have justified the measure. The intent of the embargo was, that the state should not experience those dreadful calamities that must ensue a scarcity of corn. It was the end proposed by that measure, which sanctioned the government, and not the operation of it, by way of punishment on account of any illegality that could be affixed to the simple act of exporting the corn out of the kingdom.

Neither the divine laws, or the policy of nations, nor suffering humanity will permit the avarice, or absurdities of any of the members in a state to oppress the body of the people. When any such circumstance takes place, it is the duty of government to take notice of it. No distinction of circumstances can arise to entitle one kind of monopoly, more than another to the favor of government, if either tends to introduce into the state calamities that must lead to the oppression of the people, perhaps to annihilate them. If the government can make a distinction between them, it must be as in all cases of diseases, that require different remedies.

Had the order of council been extended in the first instance to all the banks, it would undoubtedly have kept the specie in the kingdom. All joke aside, the order of council should have operated in that manner, and should



should then have been immediately followed upon the part of the minister, by an act of the legislature to make the notes of private banks a legal tender, agreeable to the manner and mode that have been prescribed. The order of council should then have been immediately suspended, that a discretionary power might have vested in the proprietors of each bank, to have enabled them to issue out specie according to the exigencies of your commerce, and of your manufactures. By these means, government itself would have been better supplied with specie, on any pressing emergency, than what it has hitherto experienced. If they had been followed up on the part of the minister, your tillage, your manufactures, and your commerce, would not have suffered that depression, which has impeded the progressive improvement of the first, and has almost annihilated the others. Specie is to them like water to the root of a tree. It makes them to flourish in all their branches, and to bring forth new shoots. It is their pabulum which preserves them in a state of existence.

It is not too late for government to avail itself of its errors, and of its inactivity, the money is still in the kingdom, which would again circulate, if the ministers possessed a sufficient degree of sagacity to discover the means that can accomplish so desirable an object. Thousands of pounds lie concealed under ground in this kingdom,



it has been the apprehensions of its several proprietors that have induced them to dispose of it in that manner. Government should awake in them, like apprehensions, that their feelings might oblige them to bring it forth from out of the bowels of the earth. An act of parliament would impose on them those apprehensions.

Your legislature ought to establish by law, that all specie which is, or shall be secreted after the expiration of one calendar month from the date thereof, shall be absolutely considered as a dereliction on the part of its several proprietors, and that it shall vest, as in cases of all treasure-trove, in the first fortunate finder or finders, except such specie as may, or shall be concealed above ground, in any box, chest, furniture, or closet, appertaining to such house or houses as are inhabited. The same fears that actuated your secretists to conceal their money under ground, would now persuade them to dispose of it, in a manner that would better insure its safety: they would not keep it in a house, where it must be exposed to theft and rapine, or perhaps to be plundered by the enemies of your country. It would be deposited in one of your banks, or would be exchanged for land, or national security; or perhaps, put out to interest on personal or real security; in either of which cases it would circulate, which is the object to be obtained.

It



It is strange; it is wonderful strange; it is passing wonder; that men whose manners are influenced, either by the precepts of the christian doctrine, or by the principles of humanity, should create in their minds a distinction between actions producing the same effects in life, because they differ only in point of complexion. Men, who conceal their money under ground, would consider it as a breach of their moral and religious duties, a sacrilege never to be pardoned, were they to secrete the food of man in the same manner; as if every thing that contributes to the support and maintenance of man was not the bread of life. Their conduct is governed by the rules of a false position, that, by an inverse proportion, produce effects not unanalogous to your moral and religious duties. You have your patriots too, who answer that description. The world would derive much benefit from a mirror, that possessed the powers of reflecting in a mental point of view, their moral and political characters in one group; it would exhibit to the mind's eye, such a variety of deformed moral and political characters, as would astonish and confound them. The oddity of such an assemblage might force a smile; but then, contempt and indignation would soon change it for a sneer.

The nonchalance, the sansfroid, and the apathy of soul displayed on the part of your *plutuses* amid the surrounding dangers and calamities



calamities which threaten the very existence of the state, cannot otherwise be accounted for, than that their political conduct is too much influenced by such unmeaning, impolitic, trite sayings, as that *charity begins at home; that a bird in the hand is worth two in the bush, and that a hand in the dish is worth two in the pot.* More reflection, with a little more previous experience, will teach them to know, that self-interest is more intimately connected with the welfare of the state, than what they are apprized of.

Hitherto the amount of the current specie of the kingdom has not been adequate to its manufactures and to its commerce. It is to this circumstance, that the lender is indebted for that value of his money, which intitles him for the loan of it, to a premium of six pounds per annum, for each hundred pounds. If your manufactures and your commerce should remain much longer in their present state of torpitude, they must suffer a diminution, that will reduce in the same proportion, the value of money. It is like all other commodities, that when their quantity, is either greater or less than the demand for them; they will be more or less valuable. If the sphere of your manufactures and of your commerce should be more circumscribed, there will be a less demand for money. The competition in that case will not be among the borrowers, but among the lenders, who will then



then gladly dispose of it at interest, for a premium of four pounds per annum for each hundred, in the place of six pounds per annum. Lands will always rise in value, in proportion as that of money diminishes; therefore if it should be disposed of for a purchase, the loss will still be the same.

Let the monied men, but calculate the great and certain profit that must accrue from their disposing of it at a time that it is most valuable; let them also calculate the loss to which it is subject from the event of things, and let them bring into account the several risques and dangers that await the possession of it, they will then discover, that it would be more prudent of them to circulate it, than to hoard it up, *because charity begins at home; or, because a bird in the hand is worth two in the bush; and a hand in the dish is worth two in the pot.*

It is in the body politic, as in the human body; if you deprive it of the circulation of life, it must cease to exist. Every mode therefore, that wisdom can devise, or that the imagination can suggest, should be adopted on the part of government to bring into circulation, as usual, the current specie of the kingdom. The very spirit of the constitution, invites your ministers to undertake the completion of so general a public good. The Laws will on that occasion justify their conduct, and the end proposed, will sanction their measures.

In



In Spain, in Portugal, in Germany, in England, and in this Kingdom, the laws of either state will not suffer the current specie of their different countries to be carried away out of their dominions. Even in Germany, so tenacious is it of its specie, that it will not permit any person to enjoy the smallest part of its territories, *who is not a resident*. These prohibitions do not result from the intrinsic inherent value that the specie of either country possesses; but because it is the only general circulating article that facilitates the exchange of one commodity for another, by which means a general commercial intercourse is always taking place between the several members of each state, that could not otherwise be effected. When such a law formed a part of their different institutions, it did not expressly provide against any internal abuse of their current specie. Like the Roman laws, that did not take notice of the crime attached to the murder of a parent, because human nature was supposed incapable of committing so atrocious and so diabolical a deed; so the laws of these different states did not expressly provide any remedy against the abuse of the specie of either country, by its individuals, because it was not imagined, that the different passions and affections of the soul, would suffer them to hoard it up, in prejudice to the several gratifications that must result, not from the abuse, but from the

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the use of it: neither was it conceived that prudence would suffer them to be guilty of so unmeaning an offence, that must bring on the dissolution of the state, whose political existence can only ensure to each individual the possession and the enjoyment of his wealth.

These several prohibitions proclaim, that there is a power vested in the government of either state, to enact such laws, as will best promote the circulation of their current specie. There is also a power derived from the spirit of the constitution, which is vested in every government, for the purpose of correcting without distinction of persons, every abuse that may introduce itself into the state, to the oppression of its several members. Like the equity of your law, which provides a remedy against the ills of individuals, that the laws cannot reach, this power is designed to enable its ministers to apply remedies that will avert those disorders of the state, against which, the law has not sufficiently provided.

That power was by your government, called forth into use, on an occasion that justified the measure. It was not applied to oppress the people, but to protect the state from the secret conspiracies of those, whose view, like the Bacchanals of the sixty-fifth Consulate, in the year five hundred and sixty-six of Rome, was to subvert the state, to confound all law, that the indulgence of their unwarrantable desires, and of their several



criminal passions, may be without limitation; and like the Bacchanals, their wishes were to have been accomplished by massacring in cold blood, with unrelenting pity one-half of its inhabitants promiscuously, and by plunging the other half into an abyss of wretchedness, misery, and despair. They worked in darkness, that their deeds should not come to light. Like the sacred rights, and ceremonies of the Bona Dea, their treasonable practices were so concealed from public view, that it was impossible to detect them, through the ordinary legal means, and it was for the same reason equally impossible, that government could have reached the seat of the disorder, by applying the usual legal remedies. If government had not made use of that discretionary power vested in them for the protection of the people, their interests would have been betrayed by the ministers, for which they should have lost their heads.

The nature of all social compacts, is to guaranty to each individual of the state, every degree of enjoyment and of happiness that can arise out of his rank in the state, without endangering the community, and without annoyance to its several members. It is for this implied end, that all men have been persuaded to associate in one great body, and it is for the same purpose, that they have continued to entail from age to age on their successors that association. Man, in his implied political capacity, that each member



member might enjoy every benefit which can be derived from his rank, has, through the deputation of the laws and customs of the state, appointed particular persons to watch over its welfare.

In cases of emergency, when the state is visited by any calamity that interrupts the happiness and the peace of its people, and that the expressed letter of the law cannot sufficiently meet the evil, it is then the official duty of those particular persons, to apply such remedies as will remove that evil. If ever one period more than another, has authorized the use and the exercise of that dispensing power, *your* times are *that* period; now that treason is the password of the day, and that one half of the people, in their various ways, is in actual conspiracy against the state, and that the other half is emulous at a moment's warning, by their example to persuade the body of the people to inflict on each other their vengeance with barbarous cruelty; because the patriots have in the fulness of their wisdom, proclaimed to man, that one white is of a brighter color than another; when perhaps neither party is competent to discriminate the different shades of political light.

The spirit of the constitution defines, in so particular a manner, the use of this dispensing power, that no minister will be so fool-hardy as to employ it either to oppress the body of the people, or to despotize the state. It is so immediately under the con-



trol of the legislative part of the constitution, that without the concurrence of the legislature, it cannot be made use of to oppress the people, or to alter the form of your government. The unmeaning declamation of your patriots, and the wanton abuse of the liberties of the people, have done more to shackle and to barter away the freedom of the state, than any use that has within this century been made of that dispensing power. View it as a part of the constitution, that is designed to anticipate a remedy against the commission of political ills, by individuals in their private capacities, which the laws cannot reach! view it again, subject afterwards to the scrutinizing eye, and then to the control of the legislature. You will now behold, that its features are not so Medusa-like, as to persuade the state to destroy the monster. If Medusa-like, it will inspire the people with such fears and awe, as will awake in them a sense of their civil duties, *cherish* and *preserve* it, as the *palladium* of the state.

It is impossible to account for, how so strong a feature of the constitution could be disavowed on the part of some of the crown-lawyers high in office; and yet to declare at the same time, that the disorders of the state called loudly for more efficient remedies than those that had been administered by government, through the mere letter of the laws. These gentlemen may be



be competent to decide on the merits of an act of parliament, or to investigate the literal meaning of the common law of the land; but then, they are not judges of the spirit of the constitution. It is true, that during the last sessions of your late house of commons, they *boldly* came forward to declare, that their opinions in respect of that matter were *constitutional*. The truth of their avowal shall be taken for granted; but then it affords no proof that their opinions are agreeably to the spirit of *the* constitution. If the body-politic is at all times, and at all seasons, to wait the ceremonies and formalities of an act of parliament, to be relieved from the different disorders, to which it must be subject from the invention, and from the ingenuity of its several *discontented* members, it will fare with the state in the same manner, as it did with one of the Kings of Spain, who, poor unfortunate man was near to conclude his days from the suffocating, and burning heat of a great fire, because the etiquette of his court required, that a person of a certain distinction, should remove him out of his impending danger.

This dispensing power is coeval with that original compact, which persuaded the human species to form themselves into an associated body. Like the fruit inherent in the bud, time only has brought it into a more conspicuous point of view. If thro' the means of the negligence of your Government



vernment in not making use of that power, it should not be able to protect the body of the people, a total, at least a partial dissolution of the state must take place. The law in that case will be the will of the conquering, to which the conquered must submit *ex necessitate*. If that event should take place in this kingdom, "war, famine, pest, volcano, storm and fire, intestine broils, oppression, with her heart wrapt up in tripple brags," will then besiege its people. You will no longer enjoy the pleasures and the luxuries arising out of your ample possessions, and the poor man will be deprived of every enjoyment that can result from his personal liberty, perhaps to beg bitter bread with half his limbs in battle lopped away, to favor only, and only to bring to maturity the most atrocious schemes of the most infamous of men.

It is not the severity, but the remissness and the irresolution of your ministers of which you have to complain. They seem to be divided in their councils; and no part of their political deportment is marked either by courage, fortitude, resolution, or firmness. Unless the leading features of the conduct of your ministers can be discriminated by these eminent dignified qualities of the mind, they are not equal to the *herculean* labor of defending the state from its enemies without, and of protecting it within from its various several traitors. If you had a man at the head of your national council



council, who possessed the fortitude and abilities of a Pit, the undaunted courage of a De Wit, and the patriotic soul of an Alcibiades, he with half the political powers that are vested in your government, would have made the crown-lawyers high in office, resign their different places on their disavowing, that not any dispensing power formed a part of the constitution. They should have been replaced by a B----she, a Bar-----ton, or an E-----n, whose political sentiments marked in a peculiar manner, their parliamentary conduct, during the last sessions of the late parliament. Let the green-eyed monster, envy, detract as it pleases, from the merits of your Ch-----lor, and let calumny disseminate those little imperfections, which must arise out of his nature, as man ; yet no man has done more than his Lordship, both in his senatorial, and in his ministerial capacity, to protect the state from the dangers, with which it has been, and is now visited. In private life, he has been, and is equally as great, and as amiable.

The manner in which this power of the Constitution was attacked by the patriots, and then defended by the opposite party, during the last sessions of the late parliament, forms such an æra of absurdity and of political ignorance, that it should not be passed by unnoticed. The advocates for making use of that power as a healing measure, to be applied to the disorders of the state,



state, for which the mere letter of the laws did not provide any specific remedy, insisted that it was a prerogative of the crown; its opponents equally ignorant of, from whence that power is derived, declared that the prerogatives of the crown were in that case, extended by your ministers beyond those definitions and limitations affixed to them by the laws of the land. They were then answered by the adverse party, that the prerogatives of the crown were neither defined nor limited; in short, that power appeared to all parties to be an animal of so amphibious a nature, that it was a task far beyond the reach of their ingenuity, to affix to it its peculiar qualities and properties. It is as distinct in its nature, from the prerogatives of the crown, as light from darkness. Those prerogatives are certain immunities attached to the crown, and in no wise affecting the different interests of the body of the people. These of a more mixed nature, from the unfolding the spirit of the constitution, have by right, like a less issuing out of a greater property, emerged in the constitution. This circumstance now forms around your liberties, a bulwark that will never be erased, but by the battering rams of your patriots. When the operations of that power affects the life and property, or either of them, of any individual in the state, you must experience on the occasion very disagreeable sensations. But then, you should reflect, that they do not result from the

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the injustice of the measure, but that they arise out of the humanity of man, that cannot avoid to commiserate the sufferings of a fellow-creature, however deserving his crime may be of punishment.

That every end might conspire to effect the circulation of the current specie of the kingdom, it should also be enacted by your legislature, that not any bank notes should be accepted on the part of the landlord from the tenant, unless the former was well assured that the latter was not in any manner, at the time of his presenting the bank notes as a payment, enabled to pay the amount of them in specie. No further assurance should be required on the part of the landlord, than the affidavit of the tenant. If a Roman Catholic, the oath should be administered to him by the Priest of his parish before two creditable subscribing witnesses. The law should enable him to administer the oath on that occasion, and it should also subject him and the two subscribing witnesses to a very heavy penalty, in case the oath was not duly and actually administered on that occasion. The reason for recommending this measure is, that much of the specie of the kingdom centres with that class of men, who now hoard it up from an idea that cromelean times will take place again in this kingdom, which may enable them to purchase for a pecuniary trifle, large tracts of land.



The facility and the rapidity with which guinea bank notes must circulate, will point them out as the peculiar object of forgery, and the difficulty which must therefore await the detection of it, will often persuade people to be guilty of the commission of that crime. This evil is easily anticipated on the part of the legislature of any state. It has only to enact, that, so long as your paper currency is countenanced by the laws, every person who tenders a bank note by way of payment, shall severally subscribe their names on the back of it, like endorsers on the back of a bill of exchange, until it is filled up with the several names of those that tender such bank note, or notes, as payment. Your legislature should also enact, that in case of a forgery, the holder of such forged bank note, shall be entitled to call for the payment of it, on the last endorser, and so on by the several endorsers on the back of it, in the same manner as a bill of exchange, until the forgery is traced up to the first endorser. He only, should be subjected to the loss, as a kind of correction, intended to make him in future less negligent, and more careful. It would operate as a deserving punishment for his circulating a forgery, under the sanction of his name. The facility and the expedition with which forgeries could then be detected, would discountenance them more, than any other measure that could be devised. It would give a greater degree of confidence and of responsibility



responsibility to bank notes, that cannot otherwise be attached to them. The little inconveniencies, and the small portion of trouble which the mercantile part of the state must experience from that measure, would be sufficiently compensated by the many benefits and advantages, which would thereby be attached to your trade, and to your commerce.

Justice calls loudly on the government to legalize the tender of the national bank notes. Those who have deposited their money in the bank, or those whose money and goods have been exchanged for its notes, must feel in a most oppressive manner the want of that measure; since the order of council, which was served by government on the bank, has precluded it from issuing out specie as usual. They are now absolutely exposed to the civil plunder and rapine of the unrelenting, merciless inhuman creditor, who will take every advantage of the law to increase his ill-gotten wealth. If the legislature was to render them a legal tender, they would circulate in a manner that must enlarge the circle of your manufactures, and of your commerce. The resources of the needy-man would be thereby meliorated. He would then be enabled, for their full value, to dispose of his goods for the payment of his debts, and though not any thing should remain for himself, still his rank in the state would be more enviable, than if he was reduced to a situation worse than



that of a beggar. He would not feel in the same manner, "the stings and the arrows of outrageous fortune," that make rebels of half the world. When a certain baronet declared in the house, the last sessions of your late parliament, that the consulting the conveniency of the landed men of the state, should not be brought into competition with raising the national supplies for the year, it fully evinced that he is no connoisseur, either in human nature or in politics, and that he is better qualified for the appointment of an overseer, to inspect the beautifying of a favourite villa, by filling up a stagnated pool, than for that of the leading minister of a great state, for the purpose of directing its political concerns. His conduct on that occasion, bears some similitude to the manners of an affected ingenious blockhead, who attempted to make a poor unfortunate limbless wretch support himself without his props. He in the trial tumbled down; so will it fare with the body politic, if those props by which it is supported are destroyed.

The reasons for making the national bank notes of the sister kingdom a legal tender, are very obvious. From the desponding situation of the public affairs of this state, her trade with you is so limited, that in the course of your commercial connections with her, your exporting merchant will be excluded from receiving any remittance that would suit his convenience, in exchange



change for any of the commodities of this country, that may be sent by him to that kingdom. It is now so tenacious of its specie, that he could not hope to receive, thro' the means of it, a remittance in exchange for any of your home commodities, which he may be tempted to export for that country. Nothing can more effectually remove any shackles that must confine your trade with the sister kingdom, than that of legalizing her national bank notes in this country. The happy commercial effects resulting from that measure would be manifold, your trade with her would be thereby extended, which would enable you to anticipate in some measure, those ills to which the state is daily exposed, through the large and weighty remittances of money, that you are obliged to send to the sister kingdom for account of your absentees. It would then be no longer a difficult matter for a merchant to negotiate a bill of exchange on England, and the charges attending it would be more moderate than what is now experienced. These circumstances in his favour would encourage a greater export trade to that kingdom, than what has of late taken place. These national bank notes should pass at par for the greater facility of their circulation.

Envy, like a cancer in the body, marks its various ways in its progressive malign influence over the soul. As in the body its different powers are thereby vitiated, until they



they are rendered unfit for their various functions, so in the mind, envy contaminates and corrodes all the benign affections of humanity, until the soul belies the nature of man, and he is made unfit to act his part on the great stage, the theatre of life. Like some horrid monster that engendered among the original species of the creation, it has so altered and so changed the features of the fair inhabitants of the soul, that the all-powerful Creator, but for his omniscience, could not discriminate his *best*, his *greatest* work, man. Behold the change in man; he now presents himself to your view, dressed complete from head to foot in masquerade; fluctuating in his wishes, and unbounded in his desires; to himself a torment, and to man his fellow-creature, an enemy. In love with nothing but himself; and still that self to self disgusting and loathsome, and wondering at himself. His reason perverted, and the benign sentiments of the mind by that devouring monster, erased from his soul. An apology for man, a mere epitome of one.

Those who have been for a length of time infected with this malady of the mind, like him whose cancer is of a long standing, are incurable. But like him, palliatives may be applied to mitigate the virulence of the complaint, and though they will not effect a cure, still like a hemlock proscscription, they will so impede in its progress this disease, that they will not suffer it to  
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eraze totally out of the heart of man every tender and benign sentiment of the soul. This mental complaint, like the cancer of the body, arises out of such a variety of causes, more especially from suppressed evacuations, that a cooling diluting regimen daily adhered to, would operate as an effectual preventative, to protect in future the mind of man, from being visited by that dreadful and all-contaminating disorder. This cooling diluting regimen, like a hemlock proscription for a cancer in the body, will indubitably effect a cure, if persevered in and regularly attended to by the patient, whose mental complaint, cancer like, has not taken root. Those whose minds have been in a greater degree contaminated and corroded by that formidable malady, though they cannot hope for a cure, still they would do well to make trial of a cool diluting regimen. If persevered in by them, and more duly attended to in a severer manner, it will undoubtedly impede the pernicious and baneful progress of their cancer-like complaint. It is only from a cooling diluting regimen that they can hope to derive any benefit.

This regimen is of so simple a nature, and attended by so little cost and expence, or trouble, that it must recommend itself to general use. Like the man who appointed one of his domestics to wait on him daily every morning, to tell him that he was mortal, for fear that he would in his peregrination



grination to the next world, suppose himself to be immortal; so in like manner, there should be a person appointed in every family to report to it the aggrandizement and the good fortune of others. Each member of the family, should in rotation officiate, that its individuals might not sicken by the disagreeable and the unpleasant sensations that must arise in the mind of man from so disgusting an employment. Where matter of fact will be wanting for daily report, invention should be suffered to supply the place of reality, that it might conspire to support so noble an institution.

In order to reconcile the patient to the nauseousness of this cooling diluting regimen, like the medicinal powder of hemlock for a cancer of the body, it should be administered with a little conserve of roses, or with some of the more agreeable and sweeter syrups to make it palatable. On the reports being made to the patients, they should be immediately told that Jack or Tom is a good fellow, and that he is a generous liberal minded man, and now that his income is enlarged, he will administer to the wants of the fatherless, and of the oppressed, and deserted widow, which will anticipate the necessity of burdening the parish with fresh taxes for the maintenance of the poor, the charges of which must ultimately fall on them. Nay, in short, these patients should be told, to serve the place of a conserve of roses, or that of some other more delicious syrup,



fyryp, that Jack or Tom is fo confiderate and fo humane, that either now he will give employment to the poor at large, which will enable them to provide for themfelves, and muft enfore to them the means of confuming in future in greater abundance, the produce of the foil, and of making ufe of, in a greater degree, the feveral articles arifing out of their commerce and out of their manufactures, which muft ultimately tend to enfore them a better price for their feveral commodities that they have to difpofe of.

This gentle, this interefting manner of carrying into execution that cooling and diluting regimen, will recommend it to the feveral patients, who will be in time fo charmed with its effects on the mind, and on the heart of man, and who alfo will be fo delighted with the various ways which it will introduce into life, for the more effectually promoting the intereft of every individual, that in a little time one may hope to fee in general ufe, this cool diluting regimen of man. And what is more to the honor of human nature, one may thereby expect to behold the world united in love and harmony, like one family purfuing the fame end to promote the welfare and the happinefs of all its members.

This malady of the mind is not coeval with man; it is of a much later date; it was introduced into the world with all our woe. Like other fashionable foreign complaints,



plaints, it has its different degrees of virulence, and like them, by their repeated attacks in their various stages on the body, it contaminates and consumes the soul of man, until man is rendered a mere epitome of man disgusting and loathsome.

To trace in its various stages the different effects that the recomendatory cool diluting regimen must produce in the mind of man, will afford some amusement to the contemplative soul. In the first instance of its being made use of, like to appetites depraved, the mental stomach, the soul of man, will sicken at its nauseousness, but then its healing balsamical qualities will soon reconcile it to those who are only affected in a slight degree by that mental cancer. In time they will thereby be enabled to hear of the aggrandizement and of the good fortune of Jack or Tom, without the suppression of the accustomary evacuations of the soul: such as benevolence, benignity, and good will to all men. A strict adherence on their part, to this cool diluting regimen, like a gentle purge, will keep the habit of the mind, like that of the body, in so pure and regular a state, that they need not fear in future a relapse. He, who is more severely afflicted with the cancer of the mind, cannot receive the same benefit from that cool diluting regimen: but like a hemlock prescription, which impedes the progress of a cancer in the body, it will in like manner impede that of the mind. He should make  
trial



trial of it, but in a greater degree; the violent manner in which it may affect his mental constitution, will certainly derange it for a time; nay, perhaps kill him. And what then? but of envy, still he dies; and let him die of envy, a sort of suicide, for which he should be held up to the world as a criminal, like other malefactors, to impress the mind of man with a horror against the commission of this diabolical offence.

A few such striking and powerful examples, would strongly recommend to general use, that cool, diluting regimen; like those diseases of the body, which seldom attack the constitution, but in a more advanced period of life, when it is most susceptible of the violence of their assaults; so in like manner, that mental complaint does not visit the soul of man, until the mind is least capable to oppose its pernicious and baneful effects. Those therefore, who are not infected with that malady of the mind, would do well to make use of that regimen from the period of life, which marks the mind of man, as best fitted for tender and humane impressions. Youth is the season, when most benefit can be derived from its use, therefore, to *them* it is most particularly recommended. Like a medicinal prescription for complaints in the body, that will introduce more foul disease, than those for which it has been advised, if it be not administered with the greatest discretion and care, so



in like manner, this regimen of the mind will subject it to complaints, equally pernicious to the soul, if not carried into practice by *them* with great judgment and circumspection.

A little self-examination is the best preventative against its abuse. It is not intended, that the destroying one weed in the heart of man, should make room for a dozen others, equally as deformed, and as hideous. It is only designed, that those amiable qualities of the mind, which are of a more luxuriant growth, should not overshadow those of a more delicate texture; in hue, equally inviting and courting the mind's eye. It is therefore designed, that *they* should not be over-looked by the world, but that they might be placed in a more open point of view, that they, for the want of air, should neither die away, nor wither.

In the discrimination of the quantum of his several duties, he should always bear in remembrance, that the performance of any one duty, cannot compensate for the neglect of another duty, and that the excess of one will never apologize for the omission of another. He ought, at all times to consider himself as a person, that is deputed to act in this world, his part on that great stage, the theatre of life, and who is also, designed to act every part in the great drama of human life. Like, at the rehearsal of a less interesting drama, he should study his



his parts; for the rewards and punishments that await his merit, and demerit, will be proportioned to the approbation, and the disapprobation of that divine all-seeing manager, who has placed him in that situation. On those occasions every man should investigate the motives of his actions, that he may know, whether the avarice that his conduct displays through life, results from an excess of duty to his family, or whether it arises out of an itching palm, imbibed with his mother's milk, or whether it arises out of an earthly inheritance entailed on him by his over-kind he-parent, or lastly, whether he succeeds to it by right of either, or of both of these great first causes. Let him next enquire, whether his ambition is governed, and animated by a love for the exercise of his social duties, and not by that pagan envy, which has made three-fourths of the world Augustus Cæsars, who proclaimed to man, that he would rather be the first in some insignificant village, than the second in Rome.

It must be envy only, that persuades a few individuals of the state, to calumniate the manners of any of your bankers in their commercial capacity. It is as impolitic, as it is unjust, and it is as illiberal, as it is ungrateful, to censure a people, who are the pillars of your crest fallen commerce, and of your drooping dispirited manufactures, and of the declining state of your agriculture. Now that the current specie of the  
kingdom



kingdom is not in circulation as usual, if it was not for the currency of their paper, the different articles arising out of your manufactures, your commerce, and your agriculture could not be disposed of for half their value.

But for their paper currency, the demand for them would be infinitely less than the quantity brought for sale to market, or in other words, the sellers in number would be far greater than that of the buyers. In this case, each commodity would suffer a diminution in their value; but now that the number of the buyers are in some measure of late increased, through the means of their paper currency, each article has not decreased in value, as it otherwise would have done, for the want of the circulation of the current specie of the kingdom. If the commodity to be disposed of, is of a perishable quality, and if the importuning exigencies, of the several persons who have it for sale, will not suffer them to hold it over, until the market affords a more favourable price, and if, at the same time, the number of the venders is infinitely greater than that of the buyers, the latter will take every advantage that they can of the former. This was the situation of commercial affairs, which reduced the value of the different products of the soil, especially grain, to a mere nothing, until the circulation of the paper currency of your bankers increased the number of the buyers.



buyers. When there is a demand for any one commodity, from an increase of number among the buyers, a competition will then of course, exist among them; it will also take place among them, if their wants for that commodity are importuning. Both these circumstances did exist in your markets, but then the sellers were not able to avail themselves of either, because the pecuniary means of the buyers were confined from the want of the circulation of the current specie of the kingdom, and because the paper currency of your bankers was not then so great, as what has hitherto taken place.

The general good arising out of the circulation of their paper, is not confined to any particular description of men in the state. Like those places on the globe that participate of the sun's rays, in proportion as they are more or less distant from his influence, so in like manner, each individual is benefited, either more or less, as his rank in life removes him from the immediate benign effects of their circulating paper. If Jack, or Tom is enabled through its means to dispose of their grain for ten pounds more than what it would otherwise sell for, they will bespeak during the year from Charles, their shoe-maker, two pair of shoes at least, extraordinary, and so vice versa, if their grain sells for less. In this manner every individual of the state is benefited by its circulation. Thus, and thus, goes round, and round,  
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the commercial wheel of human life, which is either hastened or retarded in its velocity, agreeably to the nature of the different effects arising out of the various causes, that keep it in perpetual motion. And why then calumniate a people, who, in their commercial capacity, are such useful members; why not support them, in your various ways, with all your might to extend still farther, that general good which the public has derived, and is now deriving, from their kind services, as bankers.

From their situation in life, they are more exposed to the calumny of individuals, than any other body of men in the state. Their wealth, and its daily increase, arising out of the tribute-money that they are incessantly in the receipt of, are too often the objects of discontent and of envy. But then, if each individual of the state is equally enriched, in proportion to the money lent, why find fault with the terms on which it is borrowed; they are in equity entitled to legal interest; it is no more than a premium to insure them from those losses to which they must be either more or less subject, in consequence of the very great confidence that they are obliged to place in the several individuals connected with your trade, your commerce, and your manufactures. The profit arising out of their business as bankers, after they have deducted their losses out of it, is but the reward of their trouble, and of their kind services to the public,

to



to whose grateful acknowledgments, and not to their envy, they are justly entitled.

In consequence of the incessant applications which are daily making to that class of men, a few individuals must experience pecuniary disappointments; but then, they would do well to reflect, that it is not the interest, nor the wish of any banker to send them away from his house dissatisfied. There are certain rules that must govern their conduct in the direction of their affairs as bankers; to which they must subscribe *ex necessitate*. Perhaps at the time that these applications are made, their cash is no more than sufficient to answer the daily payments of their notes, then in circulation, the amount of which must always correspond in proportion to that of their cash in bank. Perhaps, it may be, that neither the solvency, nor the punctuality of those who apply to bankers for a loan of money, do not entitle them to their confidence. In either case, on these occasions, their duty to the public, should supersede every other consideration. Beside, whenever such overtures are made to them, they have their own safety to consult, which, they cannot expect, will be by them overlooked.

He, whose temper is so irascible, as to interpret the refusal of a banker, into an insult offered to his feelings, should, before he disseminates among mankind the effects of his disappointment, reflect, that in proportion



portion as they operate to withdraw from that banking-house the public confidence, those wants which obliged him to make the application, will be but farther removed from being relieved. If he is a man in business, in that point it will affect him most materially, or, if he is a respectable husbandman, or a man of landed property, it will but increase his difficulties. The manners of bankers, like those of men in general, sometimes betray a brusquerie, that is certainly disagreeable to men of more delicate feelings, and who are more susceptible of the gibes, sneers, and impertinencies of insulting superior rank; but then, the dog to his trough, the pig to the mire, still both are serviceable in their various ways.

Though the state is much indebted to the kind services of that class of men for those means, which enable its individuals to extend more largely your commerce, and your manufactures; yet their obligations to the public, on account of the implicit confidence placed in them by its several members, are equally as great; gentleness of manners, and a disposition to oblige, should therefore mark most strongly their commercial features, if it were only to reconcile the mind of man to their tribute of six per cent, that galling yoke, that badge of servitude. However great those commercial advantages may be, that are derived from their beneficent services; still the six per cent so often occurs to the envious mind of man, that the public

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lic is at all times, too well disposed to find fault with their establishment; though its general utility to the state must be admitted.

If, through the misrepresentations of a family dissention among any of the proprietors of your banking-houses, the public confidence were to be withdrawn from your bankers, such then indeed ought to be the objects of your displeasure. It is impossible to calculate the commercial ills that would arise out of so untoward a circumstance. If this dissention is introduced into the world, with a half broken, unmeaning sentence, "that such a bank has stopt," the fears of the illiterate countryman, whose money is his God, will be immediately alarmed. He, who measures each degree of his present happiness, and of his future prosperity by the quantum of his money, will immediately, on the promulgation of that half broken sentence, convert the paper currency in his possession into money. Such an instance of care and of prudence, on so supposed an alarming occasion, though improvident in the highest degree, will operate sufficiently on the minds of others, to persuade thousands to follow without delay, his foot-steps. The pecuniary demands henceforth, in that case on your banking-houses, will be so importuning, and so incessant, that in future, instead of their accommodating your merchants, your manufacturers, and your brewers, they must in their own defence, become the oppressors of those very people, whom



they formerly protected. Each individual must participate in some measure, of the baneful effects resulting from this family dissention, and none more so, than the husbandman. Now that the pecuniary resources of the merchant, of the brewer, and of the baker, are more circumscribed, he cannot expect to receive as usual, the same prices for the different products of his farm.

The ill consequences that will ensue such a half-broken sentence, like some infectious disease, must either more or less attack all descriptions of men, without any discrimination of persons. The landlord who derives from his tenantry his means of living, is now obliged from their pecuniary inability, to economize in a manner that is highly prejudicial to the lower orders of the people. Again, *they* are rendered incapable of contributing their mite to the production and re-production of that traffic, which is the life and soul of the commercial world. Like a complex great mechanical body, if any of your commercial system is put out of order, the whole will be affected, or if the great leading wheel, like that in a complex piece of mechanism is retarded in its velocity, its impelling power will be no longer able to influence the smaller wheels, and if the greater wheel like that of this mechanical piece, should cease for a while to move round and round, it will require an infinitude of labor, and of time to put the whole again into motion.

Should



Should any of the proprietors of the banking-house, that has subjected the commercial world to those numerous ills, which must arise out of the promulgation of such a half-broken sentence, then come forward to declare to the people, that it would be an instance of folly in the highest degree, nay, a species of madness to continue, to transact as usual, in your times the business of a banker, it would be an aggravation of his offence. If he then holds out to the plutuses of the state, his house as an asylum for their guineas, it is but a greater aggravation of his crimes. If he like an alderman of London, with self-created sufficiency in a one curled bottomed wig, with a pen in his right hand, and the left in the waistcoat pocket, supported by the protuberance of an unwieldily paunch, that bespeaks his over-kind regards of the body, reclining on a desk with all the insolence of superior rank, under the mask of an affected humility, should entertain a dignified customer, with a dissertation on the letter of the law, to the prejudice of a brother-banker, it declares him unfit for public adoption, either as its friend, or as its humble servant.

Whenever such a banker shall appear amongst you, do not confide in him, firen-like, he only allures thee; but to *thy ruin*. These kind declarations of discretion, and of prudence, on the part of this cunning, *over-cunning* Isaac, of this wise-man of Gotham,



Gotham, are only to create in him a fascinating power, that it might ensnare you into his all-devouring jaws, that according to his supposed events of things, you should for his own emolument best promote those selfish ends, for which he has promulgated to man *those kind declarations*. Though he knows full well, how to awaken the apprehensions, and the fears of the monied men, that it might withdraw from your several banking-houses the confidence of the public ; yet he is better qualified for an asserter of ribands, or for the employment of discriminating the different colours of your various dye-stuffs, than that of being promoted by the public, to the dignified, and important place of a banker in a great commercial state.

If the conduct of each individual in the state, was to be influenced by his *over-kind* declarations to the public, you would soon be deprived of your rank in Europe, as a great commercial people. You would then in a little time be reduced to that degree of insignificance which distinguishes the climaxical improvement of a savage nation, emerging from a state of barbarism into that of civilization. That great commercial chain, which forms but one body from the powerful union of all its several links, each acting in concert with the other, and but more strongly united in proportion to the adherence of one to the other, must be weakened in the same degree, as it is de-  
prived



prived of any of the several parts, out of which it is formed. If all its parts by the loss of the leading principal link, should be in time disunited, it will no longer be a chain from the intimate union of the whole, but a number of links disjointed. If it were not for the kind fostering assistance of your several banking-houses, the leading links of the state, like that of a chain, your agriculture, your manufactures, and your commerce, would in like manner be soon annihilated. Deprive yourself of the several advantages arising out of the circulation of their notes, you will not then be able to exchange one commodity for another, with your wonted facility, which is the very life and soul of commerce. This circumstance, the strongest symptom of a commercial decay, which if not removed in time, like that to which the human body is subject, will so vitiate all the several parts of the body-politic, that it will bring on its dissolution either sooner or later. If it were not for the liberal support afforded at all times by the proprietors of your banking-houses, to your manufacturers, to your merchants, to your tradesmen, to your shop-keepers, to your brewers, and to your bakers, &c. &c. a few individuals would engross to themselves the commercial business of the state. Such is the avidity of man after riches, that these few will assume the manners of a monopolizer, in the place of a fair dealer. They would then dictate to the people what  
price



price each should accept for their different commodities, and they would also dispose of their's at their own valuation.

The concatenation of commercial ills that would arise out of so general a monopoly, must in the events of things reduce the nation to that degree of insignificance already mentioned. It would most assuredly entail on your husbandmen such poverty, as must render them but a mere cypher in the state, and the completion of that event would be hastened by a retrograde traffical motion, resulting from their purchasing the different articles of life infinitely dearer than the valuation for which they are obliged to sell the several products of the soil. If through the circulating medium of the current specie of the state, a farmer is obliged to dispose of a barrel of wheat for ten shillings, that is comparatively worth twenty shillings, in exchange for a yard of linen, valued at ten shillings, the real comparative price of which, is but five shillings, it is self evident that he is a loser of fifteen shillings by his dealing, of course so much the poorer. A constant repetition of trafficking in that manner would entail on him a degree of indigence that must ultimately level his rank with the lowest orders in the state, where he would vegetate but not grow. In this manner every link in the great commercial chain of human life, would be affected either sooner or later.

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This *kind* monopolizing spirit, would in a greater degree affect the lowest orders of the people, in proportion as the higher ranks in the state were depressed in their circumstances. It is to the opulency of the great that *they* are indebted for their maintenance. If that monopolizing spirit was suffered to introduce itself into the state, the wealth of each landlord would be reduced to a bare pittance. This numerous body of men would then, no longer have it in their power to proffer that livelihood to thousands of the lowest orders, which each derives in their various ways from the incessant employment afforded them by the different landlords; either through prudential motives of being benefited by their labors, or from a desire of enjoying those things, that are classed under the denomination of the comforts of life, or by a wish of indulging the pressing importunities of an elegant, and a well informed mind, or perhaps, and lastly, from whim, and caprice.

Another link, would this all-devouring monster, that monopolizing spirit, lop off from the great commercial chain of human life. Behold what then would follow your men of landed property, one of the pillars of the state, a leading link in that great commercial chain, would now begin to economise. It would *encrease* in proportion, as their several incomes would *decrease* in value, until the lower orders

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of the people were totally excluded from the means of participating of that general traffick, out of which only all great commercial nations are formed. In proportion as they would œconomize from year to year, so in the same degree, each individual of that numerous body of the people, arising out of the lower orders of the state, would be, but the more excluded from consuming the different products of the soil. Such a system of œconomy on the part of the landlord, if adopted by the whole body of that class of men, would only conspire to rob the commercial fund of life, of those pecuniary resources, that enable the most useful order of men in the state, the well-meaning honest yeomanry, to discharge half-yearly the several rents arising out of the soil. In proportion as that body of men is inenabled from fulfilling their different engagements with their landlords, the latter would be obliged to assume the rank of the former.

Thus and thus, in league with an unmeaning system of œconomy, would this all-devouring monster, that monopolizing spirit, lop off the several links of the great commercial chain of human life, but that the circulation of the paper currency of your different banking-houses encourages, and supports that enterprising traffical disposition, which should, for the good of the whole, pervade every description of men in the state agreeable to their rank. The name of  
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the man, who would attempt to persuade the different individuals of the state to withdraw their confidence from your bankers, that, through an expectation, from the general wreck of things, he may thereby be benefited, should be erased out of the commercial calendar; he should be proscribed by the different individuals of the state, and he should be anathematized by the world. Would you emulate the manners of your truly great men in the state? Behold a Sadlier, that good man, who, in the midst of all commercial difficulties, risques, and hazards, is contributing his mite to promote those providential ways, that the Almighty, in his infinite and unerring wisdom, has thought fit to ordain for the maintenance of the little ones, so emphatically recommended to the attention of mankind, in that great impressive book of life, *holy writ*.

The general social good, that must result from fair dealing, and from the extension of an unlimited commercial intercourse with each other, will produce effects, whose complexion should be more inviting to man, than that of those which shall ensue a monopolizing spirit, and an unmeaning, unprofitable œconomy. The ground is either more, or less valuable in the same degree, as the several products of the soil are consumed. It is to their consumption that every nation must be indebted for its variety of manufactures, its different trades and its commerce; in short it is the consumption



of the products of the soil, which produce those events, that can make of any people a great and powerful nation. It is the *arcana imperii* which can form out of your state a populous, and an opulent kingdom, that must be respected and feared by the other powers of Europe.

Whilst the consumption of the different products of the soil is raising the rank of the landlord to a greater degree of wealth, and of greatness in the state; it is also enlarging the circumstances of the tenant. This happy change in the affairs of both, conspires to oblige them to contribute their mite to the encouragement of your different infant-like trades, your growing manufactures, and your aspiring commerce.

As the several products of the soil are consumed in greater quantities, the landlord and the tenant consign to the manufacturer and to the tradesman the making and the fashioning the several articles of apparel, and of the other conveniencies of life, that each was in the habit of fabricating at home through penury, and from the want of a more lucrative employment. The manufacturer and the tradesman now begin to enrich themselves from that additional consumption of the numerous articles arising out of the various branches of your different manufactures, and out of the manifold occupations of your several mechanics.

This happy revolution in the commercial affairs of any state, whilst it enriches the  
honest



honest laborious indefatigable farmer, and whilst it is entailing opulence on the man of landed property, it is at the same time ensuring such a fund of wealth to your manufacturers and to your several mechanics, that a few of the individuals of these different orders of men are in time enabled to bring the manufactures and the various mechanical arts, to a degree of improvement and of perfection, that could not otherwise be effected. They now supply each landlord and the several tenants with the different manufacturing and mechanical articles of life on more advantageous terms, than if they were to be manufactured at home.

Thus a reciprocal profitable consumption of the different articles of life, arising out of the various occupations of the several orders in any state mutually takes place, equally for the emolument and for the benefit of the whole, suitable to the different ranks of the people. The tenant now devotes himself to the cultivation of the soil, as the most lucrative employment, and the landlord, whose wants will encrease as the sphere of his enjoyments is enlarged, resigns himself to the more elegant pleasing interesting pursuits of this world, that like an emetic, from the daily expence which awaits the gratifying every wish that they now subject him to, oblige him to discharge what has been given to him out of the general commercial fund of human life. The  
 manufacturer



manufacturer and the mechanic are employed in the improvement of their various arts, that to the different orders of men, they may be the better enabled to recommend a more general consumption of their several articles, either for the neatness and elegance of the workmanship, or on account of the goodness and cheapness of the commodity.

Those different changes in these different orders of men, emerging into opulence and into greatness, enable each in their various ways, to introduce to the notice of the commercial world, the lowest, the most insignificant ranks of the people, that each may act his part. Though in the descending degree, yet they from the greatness of their numbers, form a principal link in the chain of commercial life. They are in fact the pillars of the state. It is they that guaranty to it the succession of its different orders of men, and it is out of them they were first formed. In that manner the different links of the commercial chain have been fashioned, each uniting with the other more by chance than through the wisdom of man, and each strictly adhering the one to the other, not from choice or from mutual love, but through necessity and fear. If there is one monster more hideous than another, it is short-sighted man. When this commercial chain is thus formed, the traffical intercourse of man, the great employment of human life, like some ponderous wheel,  
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goes round and round with a degree of velocity, proportioned to the power of the several effects arising out of the various causes that first put it into motion.

Your banking-houses which have arisen out of the prosperity of the people, now form the leading link of your great commercial chain. They have been sanctioned by the several individuals of the state, thro' the means that they have afforded its different members of exchanging with greater facility one commodity for another. It is to the operation of this circumstance that every nation is indebted for the extension of its agriculture, its manufactures, its different trades, and its commerce. With them is deposited all the current specie of the kingdom, which constitutes in it several central conspicuous places of pecuniary resort for the benefit of all individuals. There your different manufacturers, your tradesmen, your mechanics, &c. &c. according to the several pretensions of each, are more certain of being in time accommodated more abundantly, than if the specie of the state was scattered among its numerous owners; like all great bodies from the union of their several parts, it is made to act with greater force and efficacy, and like oil applied to the different wheels of some pieces of complicated machinery, it preserves in due motion all the active parts of your commerce to keep up its velocity, that  
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its different wheels may act in unison the one with the other.

The responsibility of most of the proprietors of your different banking-houses, entitles them in the highest degree to the confidence of the public. All their landed property, by the laws of the state, is in a peculiar manner, assigned over to the public, as an assurance of the payment of their several notes. Even such part, or parts, of their property, as has been disposed of in providing for their family, is liable to be refunded for the payment of their notes, if the residue should not be sufficient to answer that purpose. Though any, or either of the proprietors of the different banking-houses should withdraw his name, or if that event should take place in the natural course of things, still his property will in like manner, for three years after its completion, be subject to the payment of every note, in which his name appears thereto as a party.

The laws that are designed to ensure the payment of these notes to the several individuals of the state, are now too provident in the means that were devised for that purpose. They exclude the proprietors of your banking-houses from enlarging their different capitals in a manner the easiest effected, and the most conformable to their wishes. A banker on any emergency, would receive money at interest on an accountable receipt, or on a promissory note, when per-  
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haps, he would not wish to subject his house to the degrading publicity of a bond and judgment. If any person was to accommodate a banker of this kingdom with a sum on an accountable receipt or note payable with interest, it is therefore forfeited to all intents and purposes on the part of the lender. This traffical prohibition on the part of the banker and of the lender, could never have answered the end for which it was designed. It would have been more effectually accomplished, if the existing rights to hereditaments, and to chattels real of such persons commencing bankers, had been absolutely made liable to the payment of their several promissory notes, and accountable receipts, &c. &c. In order to guaranty to the public more assuredly the payment of their several promissory notes, &c. &c. whatever right during their continuance as bankers, might accrue to any, or either of them, either by descent, by devise, by marriage, or by purchase, or in trust, should, absolutely have been subject to the payment of them.

In the preamble of the 33d of George the 2nd, chap. 14th, it is there declared, that the trade and the manufactures of this kingdom, are in a great measure carried on, and supported by the means of promissory notes, and accountable receipts given by bankers. For shame, that the wisdom, which should arise out of the experience from such a number of years, has not yet



instructed the individuals of the state how to avail themselves of a truth, which is incontrovertable. That statute was therefore designed to promote the prosperity of the trade, and of the manufactures. Some of its enacting clauses are in direct opposition to the general good, that it was intended to produce. It confines the profession of a banker to a certain description of men, which has made of it a monopoly, that excludes every degree of competition from among this class of men. This circumstance enables them to dictate to the commercial world, which, too often renders them indifferent about those, whom it is their interest and duty to oblige. They know that there are not many shops for the accommodation of the several individuals of this kingdom, which sanctions their partiality to a few select persons.

That statute should not have excluded any person from exercising the trade of a banker, and in the place of prohibiting him from receiving money at interest, he should not be suffered to purchase any kind of property, that favored either of chattles real, or of an hereditary nature. Such an enacting clause in that statute, would have ensured to all your bankers a capital in proportion to the encrease of their profits, that would have enabled them, on every ordinary occurrence, to fulfil at all times with greater facility, their several engagements to the public. Such a change in their af-  
fairs



fairs always taking place, must be greatly in favor of a commercial state. The inherent persuasive powers of an incessant six per cent, would oblige them to accommodate your manufacturer, your merchant, your tradesman, your mechanic, and your shopkeeper, in a file that would enrich the nation, and must ultimately make its people happy from the manner in which their commercial intercourse with each other would be thereby extended.

Though it may not be political, nor prudent to make any alteration in your banking laws, that could affect those, who are now bankers ; yet, for the benefit of the public, a law should be enacted, that would prohibit every person, who shall in future assume the profession of a banker, from purchasing either chattels real, or any property, that favored of an hereditary nature. For his consolation, and for his comfort, let him but reflect, that it is the opinion of mankind in general, that not *worth* but *money* makes the man ; “ the *want* of it the *fellow* : ” “ *all the rest is leather, and prunella.* ” Not any person should be interdicted from following the profession of a banker, that through the powerful effects of a growing competition among them, they may yield with greater facility, in more abundance, to the increasing commercial importunities of your several manufacturers, merchants, &c. &c.



In order to encrease their means for that purpose, and also to encourage others to embark in so lucrative a profession, each individual of them should be suffered to accept, without pains and penalties on the part of the lender, money on account, payable with interest. In a little time, their houses would be the repositories, where every individual of the state, would lodge the current specie of the nation. A three per cent, on the part of your bankers to him, who did not wish to dispose immediately of his money, and another three per cent, certain profit to the borrower, would soon effect in your state this much to be wished for commercial revolution. Thus are monied affairs managed in the sister kingdom; and why not in your's? One banker may not subscribe unto the giving three per cent; but then another will, and the same three per cent might not influence one man to lend his money; still it shall persuade another. Men like sheep, if immediate self-interest is the object, where one leads the way, the rest will *inevitably* follow. Poor unhappy man, a thousand times, from mental negligence, in the wrong, for once he is in the right. Though endowed with the high prerogatives of his nature, free will to act and reason to direct; yet from a strange association of ideas, foreign to his intended welfare, he displays in his career through life, less sapient design, than the animal, or the feathered tribe, who is governed by an  
*inferior*



*inferior* wisdom, resulting merely from the powers of a *mechanical* instinct. Man sees but darkly through the glass of life; "he leaps over a block, and he stumbles at a straw: he swallows a camel, and he is choked by a gnat. In all the magnanimity of thought, resolves, and resolves; still" proves "the same".

Such a regulation among your bankers would in time constitute them the monied men of the kingdom. In that character, as in England, they would in future have it in their power to contribute their mite, in order to enable the minister to raise on every emergency, the supplies for the use of the government, on more moderate terms, than that of giving a *douceur* of thirty-three pounds per cent. Though exorbitant in the highest degree; yet it is ultimately more advantageous to the people at large, than if it had been borrowed from any foreign power only at six per cent without any *douceur*. Any immediate benefit that may arise out of the circulation of a foreign loan, can never compensate to the people the several commercial injuries, that so impolitic and so ruinous a measure must introduce into the kingdom.

A state whose foreign commerce is so great, that the balance of its trade is always in its favor, will suffer fewer inconveniences from the annual payment of a stipend for a foreign loan, than your's that is not so happily circumstanced. A repetition in  
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this kingdom of that impolitic measure, together with the heavy annual remittances for your absentees, would soon deprive you of the circulating medium, that enables the several individuals of the community to exchange with so much facility, one commodity for another. The less current specie in any state, the less traffical intercourse must subsist among its various ranks of men, and so vice versa, the greater the quantity that it possesses.

If one political ill in the state calls loudly for a remedy more than another, it is that of raising the national supplies by foreign loans. Like the human body, in the same degree as it is bereft of the blood of life, its different members will cease to perform its several functions to which it is indebted for its existence; so in the same manner your commerce, as it shall be drained of the current specie, it will be deprived of the various invigorating indispensable services arising out of the mutual traffical intercourse of its several ranks of men, to promote which, should be the aim and end of every political institution. "Like the blood of life stood still, and nature made a pause," it will not fare with your commerce, if the current specie of the kingdom should cease to circulate. It will not only be portentous of its fate, but its dissolution must then inevitably follow. This event shall sooner or later take place, as the people are deprived of the current specie of the state, by its annual remittances



tances to pay the tribute-money of six per cent on foreign loans.

The consequences that might arise out of a forced, would not be so injurious to, nor so destructive of the welfare of the people, as those resulting from a foreign loan. The late English loan of one million and five hundred thousands of pounds sterling, if at six per cent, subjects the commercial capital of the state to an annual diminution of ninety thousand pounds. This enormous sum expended yearly among its various orders of people, would in a two-fold point of view conspire to encrease your commerce. The use to which it will be applied must diminish the traffical capital of the nation, which is, from its being too circumscribed, already inadequate to the extent of its commerce. Therefore the more that capital will be reduced, the less profit can be expected to arise out of it, whereas if the annual curtail of the ninety thousand pounds was expended on the state, it would anticipate that loss, and in its place a profit would be substituted.

Since foreign loans are so ruinous in their consequences to the state, and since that truth was in a most ingenuous manner acknowledged by the chancellor of the exchequer in the house of commons, during the last sessions of the late parliament, why not devise some less pernicious mode of raising the national supplies for the use of the government. It is easily effected without



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out subjecting the people at large, to any great inconvenience. The manner in which it is to be accomplished, if it should fail through less inherent efficient consequences, to cause a greater circulation of the current specie of the kingdom, it will eventually preclude that part of it which is now in commercial use, from being totally absorbed by your monied unindebted claimants, whose avidity is insatiable. They owe nothing, but much is due to them. Their annual income is far greater than their expenditures, and they are in no commercial line of life, which would oblige them to circulate the current specie. Means that could be devised to enable the minister to raise the government supplies in the state, and which would at the same time, exclude such men from possessing as little as possible of its specie, should be carried into execution, and should be supported by the voice of the people. The peculiar self-impolitic, unjustifiable wishes of that class of men, traitors to their country's cause, ought not to be put into competition with the welfare of the state, on which the happiness of its different orders of men depends.

It matters not, whether any other article is substituted in the place of money for the purpose of exchanging, through its means, with greater facility, one commodity for another, provided it possess in a certain degree, the several accommodating properties of the current specie, such as  
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durability, portableness, and a general acceptance on the part of the people, the one from the other in their commercial dealings. The necessities of the several members of the state thus relieved, or at least its increase anticipated, would either reduce in value the property of the *monied-men*, or it would prevent that value from being raised to a degree far beyond its real worth. It is the unsatisfied demands of the people for money, arising out of their several wants, from its being monopolized by a few individuals of the state, that have attached to it a value to which it is not really intitled. When this untoward circumstance in the commercial affairs of life, either from the kind political intervention of the legislature, or from the concurrence of some fortuitous event, shall cease to dictate to the honest well-meaning dealer, there will no longer be for money that great demand, to which it is now solely indebted for a value, hitherto within these sixty years past, unknown to the inhabitants of this great commercial kingdom. The specie of the state must, on that event's taking place, be deprived of its present enormous value, to the great emolument of your agriculture, your manufactures and your commerce. No individual of this populous traffical nation, could suffer from the happy change, it would introduce in the commercial concerns of life, except your *monied-men*. Such of their property as consisted of the current

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specie, must then diminish considerably in its value. It would only operate as a just punishment, that was designedly ordained to be inflicted on that class of men, as the reward of their manifold political and moral sins. That such an effect would be produced by a reduction of the pecuniary wants of the people, must appear self-evident to every man, that is versed in the great leading principles of commerce. Let it be supposed for argument's sake, that two hundred persons have each six pounds sterling per annum for sale, which from the present value of money at the rate of seven per cent, is worth only eighty five pounds fourteen shillings and three pence halfpenny. Before the disposal of any or either of these several annual six pounds, it happens that the wants of the more needy individuals of the state, from an influx of some other exchangeable circulating commodity in the great commercial market of traffical intercourse, are relieved, and that a greater quantity of it than the value of the two hundred shares of the annual six pounds, flows into the coffers of those that are not engaged in mercantile affairs, but who are determined to exchange it at its value of five per cent for the more substantial articles of the annual six pounds. They are now disposed of for one hundred and twenty pounds each, instead of eighty five pounds fourteen shillings and three pence halfpenny. This circumstance is in favor of  
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of the feller to the amount of thirty four pounds five shillings and nine pence, from a very trivial dealing, to the prejudice of the *monied-men*, who are the buyers. If through the kind fostering aid of some circulating article in the place of the current specie of the state, your agriculture, your manufactures and your commerce were again to assume their wonted rapid progressive state of improvement, it must cause such a flow of wealth into the nation, that it would at all times ensure that difference in favor of the feller, who might have to dispose of either landed property or national security. Thus would the monied-man be justly punished, and thus he would be taught to know that a bird in the hand is not worth two in the bush, that charity does not begin at home, and that a hand in the dish is not worth two in the pot.

If on duly considering what has been just premised, it should appear, that the raising the national supplies by foreign loan, must eventually, either impede the progressive improvement of your agriculture, your manufactures, and of your commerce, or that they must thereby, in time be annihilated; why not then substitute some other mode, that in its consequences, would be far less pernicious to the various interests of the people. Government is well apprized, that if a loan was opened in this kingdom for so trivial a sum as five hundred thousands of pounds sterling, the *monied-men* would not



subscribe thereto, though it were to *ensure* the *salvation* of the *state*, and to *rescue* its people from *want*, and from *misery*, and from *famine*. Their impolitic and silly apprehensions, together with their feminine fears, have superseded that divine elasticity of the soul, which impels the mind to dilate and to extend itself for the good of all mankind.

Though *they* would not subscribe to the filling up a loan for raising the national supplies, others may; provided that the terms on the part of government, were such as would not distress, but would accommodate the people at large. Let that be the leading feature of the next loan; it will then be soon filled up without murmuring on the part of the different members of the state. It is submitted to the superior wisdom of government, whether, the filling up a loan by a sort of a general voluntary subscription through the means of the people, might not be accomplished, without incurring their displeasure, on more moderate terms than those, which granted a *douceur* of thirty-three per cent. It is also submitted to the superior wisdom of government, whether it be not possible to obtain so desirable an object by the disposal of exchequer bills or debentures for various sums, agreeable to the different wishes of each subscriber, with a *douceur* of five per cent to the first holder or holders of any parcel or parcels of them, each payable half yearly, with an interest



est of five per cent. It is further submitted to the superior wisdom of government, whether the rendering each of these exchequer bills or debentures a legal tender, would not ensure the raising in this kingdom the national supplies for the use of administration, and whether it would not answer, as a substitute, for the want of the circulation of the current specie of the state, that is now monopolized, and hoarded up by the *monied-men*.

Exchequer bills, or debentures, to which that accommodating quality was attached, would, in general, be accepted of, on the part of the people, without murmuring. The *douceur* of five per cent, would then ensure the disposal of them, to the amount of any national loan, that should be raised for the use of government ; provided, that each collector of the revenue in the different districts of this kingdom, was appointed to distribute them, among the various ranks of the people in proportion to the demand, that shall be for them. The five per cent would easily persuade the unfortunate debtor, that is harassed, and dragooned by his unrelenting merciless creditor, to exchange for these circulating exchequer bills, or debentures, the money, that he would have to pay in discharge of his debts. The tenant, who, from the smallness of his means, considers his landlord, by self-appointment, a tax-gatherer, and he, whose pecuniary resources are infinitely more abundant, will  
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in like manner, exchange for these exchequer bills, or debentures, the amount of the different sums which each is in the habit of handing over to his land-lord in discharge of their half-yearly rents.

Perhaps the land-lord might fault this mode of raising the national supplies, were he to be excluded from subscribing to the loan in a manner, that would anticipate the pecuniary wants of government, and which would appropriate to his use, in exclusion to his tenantry, every benefit, that could be derived from the douceur of five per cent. He in truth, would be entitled to a preference on that occasion, since these exchequer bills must almost in the first instance, be handed over to him. In order therefore to obviate this objection on the part of that respectable, and of that opulent body of men, the different landlords of the state, it is submitted to the better judgment of administration, whether such a loan, should not in the first instance remain open during a short space of time, solely for their use and for their benefit; subject to such restrictions, as shall be thought most advisable on the part of government.

In order to discriminate between the landlord, that did, and he, who did not subscribe to the raising such a loan, some exemption, in respect of the receiving the exchequer bills, or debentures, in payment of rent from their several tenants, should be created, that the one may be rewarded for  
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his patriotic zeal, and that the other should be punished for the want of that public spirit, which ought to influence the conduct of every individual in the state. It is therefore submitted to the better judgment of administration, whether the landlord, who shall subscribe to the filling up the loan at the rate of two shillings in the pound sterling to the amount of his rental, should not be left to his option, until the half-yearly day of payment for rent, ensuing the opening of the loan, either to refuse, or to accept these exchequer bills or debentures in discharge of whatever rent is, or shall be due to him the last half-year, previous to the issuing those exchequer bills, or debentures. Before he shall be entitled to that privilege, he should give government such assurance, as may be required, that he bona fide, did not subscribe less, to the raising the loan, than at the rate of two shillings in the pound sterling, agreeable to the amount of his rental. An attestation of that assurance should be handed over to him by the person, who had admitted him a subscriber to the loan. Copies then, of which, the next ensuing funday, after it had been obtained, should be posted up on the church, and chapel doors of the several parishes of this kingdom, in which he shall possess either lands or tenements. This ought to be done, that each tenant in the state may know, whether the situation of his finances

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will permit him to deal in those exchequer bills or debentures.

Now that the circulation of the current specie of the state, is decreasing in so rapid a manner, that in a short time, like birds of passage, we shall see no more of it, until the return of a more mild and of a happier season, it is therefore recommended to the serious consideration of government, whether the notes of such banking-houses in this kingdom, as are deemed solvent, should be refused in exchange for these exchequer bills, or debentures. This kind of condescension on the part of administration, would in a most effectual manner, facilitate and expedite the raising of a loan. If it should be rejected by them, the supplies for the use of the nation cannot otherwise be raised, since there are not in circulation among the different individuals of the state, five hundred thousands of guineas.

It would display in this case, much more wisdom on the part of government, to accommodate itself to the existing circumstances of the times, than to adhere literally to modes and customs, whose efficient cause no longer exists. These notes should be accepted by administration in exchange for exchequer bills, or debentures to facilitate the raising of a loan, and they should likewise be received by each collector, in his official department, throughout the kingdom, in lieu of the current specie of the state. As commercial affairs are now circumstanced,



cumstanced, government could not suffer any loss from this change in the administration of the political concerns of the state, in respect of its revenue. That this is a truth, must be granted by the ministry, if they will but calculate the loss, which the different branches of the national revenue must sustain, in proportion as its current specie is withdrawn from circulating as usual.

If from the existing scarcity of money, the importing merchant cannot procure but one hundred guineas to pay the duty on goods, that are subject to three hundred guineas, they must, until the whole amount of it is discharged, remain in a state of bondage, either on the quay, or in the custom-house. Were the notes of the national bank, and of your private banking-houses to be accepted of, the duty would in the first instance be paid to the emolument of the merchant. He would then be enabled to extend your commerce, and the revenue of the state would be thereby enlarged. Merchants who are obliged to bond their goods, because they cannot pay the duty of them in specie, will labor under difficulties that must circumscribe your commerce, and that must of course diminish the national revenue. If these goods that are bonded, were under the immediate protection of those to whom they were consigned, they would not suffer through that negligence to which they must inevitably be exposed from being



in the possession of another. In that case also, the different proprietors of these goods would not be excluded at any time, egress and regress to them, without which they cannot assure to themselves a quick sale.

In proportion as that event is retarded from taking place, the pecuniary difficulties and losses of the merchant must in the same degree increase. Goods unfold, like money that is not disposed of, the longer they remain in that state the less profit they will produce, and like money put out to interest, though from a different cause in point of commercial complexion, the sooner they are sold, the greater profit they will yield. By whatever cause a merchant is obstructed in facilitating the sale of his goods, he is absolutely excluded from the use and benefit of his traffical capital. The sooner his goods are at all times converted into the common circulating medium of the state, the oftner it will be exchanged for the various articles of life, and they will be in like manner disposed of for that very same circulating commodity. Thus whilst the merchant is enriching himself, your commerce is extending, and the amount of the different branches of your revenue is enlarging. Therefore if his goods shall remain for any length of time unfold, and that his capital is but sufficient to carry on *his* mercantile traffical intercourse with man, he will not be able to contribute his mite to enlarge your commerce, which would in  
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the event of things increase the amount of the national revenue.

As each of your merchants shall discover, that they are in their traffical dealings, exposed to losing difficulties which their wisdom cannot counteract, they will then diminish the circle of their commercial affairs. Your distiller, your tanner, &c. &c. though they have in their possession a sufficiency of paper currency to purchase the several articles belonging to their different traffical professions, yet the extent of their commercial intercourse with the state, must be proportioned to the quantum of the specie that they shall be able to procure; since the government refuses to accept of a paper currency, in payment of those excise duties to which they are subject by the laws of the state. Now that they cannot from the scarcity of money, obtain but half specie to pay their monthly excise duties, they must in order to accommodate their business to the improvident impolitic measures of government, confine in future, to a narrower scale, the exercise of their different professions, to the prejudice of the general commerce of the state, which will inevitably lead to the diminution of the national revenue. If from a scarcity of money, each distiller, and each tanner, &c. &c. shall be obliged to curtail their business in the same degree as the state will be deprived of its current specie, you will in a short time have neither commerce nor revenue.



A little reflection on the part of government, would soon convince its several members, that they are playing a losing game, by adhering strictly in the collection of the different branches of the national revenue, to rules and to customs whose efficient cause no longer exists. Why not deviate from an established mode that is now in direct opposition to the various interests of the people, and to the welfare of the state? The same reason that recommended it to government, should now exclude it from a general practice. It should be made on the part of administration, to submit itself to the indispensable pecuniary convenience of the different members of the state, who are engaged in its internal and external commerce. It was in the first instance, brought into general use for the benefit of the people at large; for that very reason, as it now militates indiscriminately against their several separate interests, it should cease in a qualified manner to operate. This change in the payment of the several dues arising out of the national revenue, could not affect it to its prejudice; neither would it incommode the government, if administration knew how to avail themselves of it.

In order to qualify a person, that he may be privileged to offer paper currency, as payment to the revenue, he should on that occasion, give such assurance as government shall require of him, that he does not possess more specie, than what he then offers in discharge of the amount of  
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the duties and customs, or of either of them due of him to the national revenue, and that he has not, in any manner, with a view to elude the payment of it in specie, handed over money to any person. He, who has not any specie, should for the same reasons give the like assurance, that he does not possess any money, nor any person for his use with a view to elude the payment of the customs, &c. &c. in specie. If government should think fit to subject, to any further restrictions, the acceptance of a paper currency in payment of the several national demands, arising out of the revenue of the state, it might be extended to the choice of bankers notes, and that the paper currency of one county should not be accepted in another, as payment for the duties, and customs arising out of that county. By this last restriction, the circulation of the different paper currency of this kingdom, would be confined to the district in which it was, in the first instance issued. If, therefore, any loss should take place through the failure of any of your banking-houses, it would justly attach itself to those for whose convenience, and benefit the notes have been issued.

That government should experience, as little inconvenience, as possible from its efforts to promote the welfare, and the further extension of your internal, and external commerce, the notes of the national bank should be accepted by the different collectors



tors of the state, throughout each district, in payment of the several duties and customs, arising out of the national revenue. But then these notes should not be accepted without an assurance on the part of the person who tenders them, that he does not possess any more specie than what he offers in payment of the duties, and customs, or of either of them, due of him and that any person has not for his use, any money with a view to elude the payment of these duties and customs &c. &c. in specie. If he possesses not any money to pay either, or both of them, he should then give such assurance, as shall be required of him, that he does not possess any, nor any person for his use, with an intent to evade the payment of the duties and customs, or either of them in specie. The notes of the national bank, should in preference to those of private bankers, be accepted by the several collectors of the duties and customs of the state.

Administration would do well to prohibit all other notes from being offered as a tender in payment of the several demands arising out of the revenue, until an assurance was given, that either he or they did not possess any such notes, or that he or they did not possess any more of them than what was presented for acceptance. In order to facilitate these notes in places remote from the capital of the kingdom, each country banker should not be permitted to demand



demand any premium from him, who shall exchange with them their notes for those of the national bank. They should forego so penurious a profit, since it is to accommodate the public, from whence the acquisition of all their wealth is derived.

These several restrictions, are designed to obviate as much as possible, every inconvenience that might be introduced into the administration of public affairs, from a change in the present mode of paying the national dues, arising out of the several branches of the revenue. But that the amount of them in each county of this great kingdom, is at all times either more or less than the sum total of those expenditures that is required for the administration of its public affairs, ministers could not make any objection to the mode which is now recommended to them, in order to facilitate the payment of the national dues. It is the inequality which must exist in each county between its civil expenditures, and the amount of its duties and customs, that the notes of the national bank should be preferred to those of private bankers, as a payment in discharge of the public dues. In whatever county the receipts of its customs and of its duties exceed the amount of its civil expences, its various collectors should in discharging them, first make use of, for that purpose, the paper currency of that county. By this means the national bank notes, and the money that will be received



ceived from time to time in the collection of its several duties and customs, will enable the government to remit the surplus to whatever place in the state it shall be most wanting.

It does not require the prophetic spirit of an Isaiah to know, that a strict adherence on the part of government, to the established modes and customs of collecting the national revenue, will better enable its ministers than any deviation from them, to remit to the capital the surplus of each county. The facility with which they will accomplish so desirable an object, shall arise out of the diminution of the national revenue. As the current specie of the state ceases to circulate, your internal and external commerce must meet with such obstructions, as will reduce them to so low an ebb, that the amount of the duties and customs of each county, shall not be in a little time sufficient to discharge their civil expences. Government should therefore remove every obstacle that impedes the welfare of the internal and external commerce of the state. If administration, by adhering to these established modes and customs, shall protect the nation from a loss of one shilling in the pound sterling, through the more secure payment of its revenual dues, what can it avail the people? the restrictions, to which these modes and customs now subject the internal and external commerce of the state, are not only productive of that very loss, but



but they are interrupting a mutual traffical intercourse among a trading people, that are indebted to it for its commercial existence. If one is suffered to submit to either of two evils, it is but wisdom to make choice of the least; yet, by your government that rule is now inverted to the oppression of the people, and to the impoverishment of the state.

A general circulation of exchequer bills, or debentures, if constituted by the legislature a legal tender, would do more to preserve the current specie of the state from being monopolized by the monied-men, than any other remedy that could be devised. This paper currency must in time, like the five hundred thousands of pounds centre in them. Thus would their demands on the several individuals of the state be reduced, and thus, in the same proportion, their all-devouring claim to the current specie of the state would be daily lessening. The regular payment of the five per cent interest, which would be affixed to that paper currency, shall so strongly recommend them to the attention and to the affection of their owners, that, in a little time, it would not be brought again into circulation. It is admitted, that such an event might take place, but then, no conclusion can be drawn from thence, that it will be to the prejudice of the internal and external commerce of the state, or that it will involve the nation into difficulties, like those, which France has experienced,



ced, not from the use, but from the abuse of her paper currency.

The funds that were appropriated by her administration for the payment of it, were very soon inadequate to that end, and it was issued to so enormous an amount, that it was incalculable. As if it were to encrease a million fold the national ills, that her system of finance could possibly introduce into the state her paper currency was so divided, subdivided, and resubdivided, that their minuteness in point of value, conspired more than any other cause, to bring it into general circulation ; in short a livre was sufficient to entitle any person to rank as a creditor of that unhappy nation. This circumstance enabled her several individuals to possess, at all times, more or less of her paper currency. It was obtained with the greatest facility by the profuse manner in which it was distributed among her different ministers, that were appointed to act in their separate departments. It was rendered more easy from the improvident, and embezzling use that was made of that paper currency, by those ministers. All these circumstances contributed to introduce more of it into market, than could be exchanged for the various articles of life. Hence it enhanced their value, only in respect of paper currency, whilst that of paper currency in respect of the various articles of life was in the same degree reduced.

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There is another circumstance, that has had a much greater tendency to depreciate the value of her paper currency, than those which have been already mentioned. The amount of it from its incessant encrease by government, in a little time exceeded the value of the funds, that had been assigned to the people, as a security for its payment. When this circumstance was discovered by the public, her paper currency then suffered a depression in value, hitherto unknown in the commercial affairs of Europe. The alarms, and the fears of the people on that occasion, contributed to depreciate, further still its value ; infinitely more than what the funds designed for its payment, were deficient in reponsibility. Though all these events did take place in that unhappy country, yet the circulation of her paper currency did not virtually enhance among her people, the different articles of life. If a person for a livre in specie, granting it to have been the usual price for beef by the pound, purchases fifteen livres paper currency, which he exchanges for a pound of beef, and if he, in the same manner, procures all the different articles of life, in what respect then has the circulation of her paper currency advanced the price of the several articles of life.

If the various ministers of France had confined her paper currency to the use for which it was first introduced into that nation, her people would not have been sub-



ject to any internal, or external commercial ill that could have resulted from it; neither would they have experienced the state plunder and rapine, that have been imposed on them, through the medium of its legalized circulation. Their object has uniformly been conquest, not peace. To the completion of that wish, each principle of humanity and of justice, and every consideration, either of note or of prudence, have been without measure sacrificed. Their first, their greatest wish, is to fraternize each contiguous, each convenient part of Europe, as will best in future, enable that nation to lord it o'er the rest of Europe, from whence she will, in a little time, export the same domineering political system into every quarter of this terrestrial globe.

For the sake of argument it shall be granted, that the circulation of exchequer bills or debentures to the amount of three millions of pounds sterling, will raise the price of the different articles of life. This circumstance must be introduced into the state, infinitely in a greater degree from a borrowed loan to that amount. It must bring into circulation at least, three million pieces of money, equal to the three millions of pounds sterling. No doubt can arise, but that from the minuteness of their value, and the greatness of their number, their circulation must enhance the price of the various articles of life a million fold more, than the issuing an equal number of exchequer bills, or debentures



tures for fifties, twenties, and tens of pounds sterling to the amount of three millions of pounds sterling. You have been told that your chancellor of the exchequer, acknowledged in his official capacity, in the most handsome manner, during the last sessions of your late parliament, that not any thing can be more pernicious to the state, than the raising the national supplies by a foreign loan. Why not then, of two evils choose the least?

That these exchequer bills or debentures, may not suffer any diminution in the opinion of the public, from the introduction of forged ones into the commercial market, each proprietor, on making use of them as a legal tender, should be obliged to endorse his name on the back of them, in the same manner as has been recommended in respect of guinea bank notes. In order to attach to them every degree of repute that is possible, each endorser should be entitled, in case of a forgery, to recover the one from the other, as if endorsers to a bill of exchange. The interest of five per cent arising on each of these exchequer bills or debentures, should be payable on one and the same day. It should be punctually discharged by the different collectors of the national revenue, with such marks of notoriety, that he, or they, to whom this circulating paper shall be presented as a legal tender, may be able to judge accurately, what demand of interest is due on it. Some trifling difficulty,  
on



on its being transferred from one to another, may await the calculating the amount of interest, that shall then be due. This circumstance may be urged, as an objection against the introduction of this paper currency into commercial affairs. No amount of interest should therefore be suffered to be brought into calculation, except such as exceeded one whole half year. Thus would this difficulty in a great measure be obviated, whilst it shall tend to check the circulation of that paper currency.

There is no class of men in the state, that should less object to the circulation of a government paper currency with a five per cent affixed to it, than the proprietors of the national bank, or those of private banking houses. It must enrich them, if they will but avail themselves of it. In the course of its circulation, a part of it from their extensive commercial intercourse with the different members of the state, must centre with them. It is their interest not to part with it for the sake of the five per cent, but to circulate their notes in the place of it, for the sake of a six per cent. When the day of reckoning comes to take place between them and the public, it will serve in the place of Cash. This paper currency, together with the notes of this, and of the sister kingdom, would form a fund for the proprietors of the several private banking houses, against the day of a general reckoning, that would enable them to meet the demands  
of



of the public, with less prejudice to the commercial affairs of the state, than the hoarding up the current specie of the kingdom for that purpose.

If ever there was an opinion more erroneous than another, it is, that a paper currency can enhance the value of the several articles of life; however respectable its advocates may be, in regard to their general information of other matters, they have imposed on the world an error, resulting from the want of knowledge in the first leading principles of the traffical affairs of commercial life. Neither a paper currency, nor a partial influx of money, are of themselves able to effect it. When that event takes place, it must either arise out of natural causes, which are not subject to the control of man, or out of others, which time only can bring to maturity. The poverty of the people will retard that event from taking place, in the same degree, that their wealth will hasten its completion. The different effects arising out of these two circumstances, are deserving of the most serious consideration. The first of them will always subject the people to want and to misery, and the other ensures them peace with themselves, and plenty at home.

This kingdom, will soon be without either commerce or trade, now that the circulation of its current specie is daily decreasing. It is absolutely so scarce a commodity, that the change of a guinea bank note, is not only a  
very



very great favor conferred, but the obtaining it is also attended, at times, with great difficulty. It is become so much an object of traffic, that in some places no note will be exchanged for money, without a small premium to the pound sterling. It is even whispered that from the same cause, your pawn-brokers, this unconscionable dignified class of men, must cease to pursue their usurious-like business, though they are in the habit of receiving the enormous profit of thirty per cent on each pecuniary loan. The soldiery in like manner, feels this depression of public affairs. He, the defender of your country, the avenger of its foreign foes; he who acquires laurels to adorn the brow of others, and who conquers *not* for *himself*; he, who ensures to you the possession and the enjoyment of your wealth; he, whose courage, bravery, and fidelity are protecting the succession of your inestimable constitution from the malevolent designs of its internal, and external foes, is often obliged to wait for hours, before he can obtain the change of a guinea bank note, to buy food for the sustenance of life.

Blush ye monied men! blush ye ingrate! perhaps the hour is not far off, when your self-supposed pecuniary security, like a dagger, shall recoil upon you, to inflict you with those ills, that your mental impotence has without measure been heaping upon others. Know ye for your comfort, that ye are personally known to every individual in the state.

Guinea



Guinea bank notes, or those of a greater amount, will answer very well for the accommodation of the wholesale dealer, and of those, whose demands either to pay, or to receive, are greater than the sum of one guinea. The smallest of them is not sufficiently accommodating for the retailer, whose traffical dealing with the lowest orders of the people, does not in general exceed at any one time the value of a shilling. He must feel in a most oppressive manner the ills resulting from the want of the circulation of the current specie of the state. If he has it not in his power to change for his customer a guinea bank note, he is sure to be interrupted in the sale of his goods. The customer then endeavours to accommodate himself at other shops, where he finds it equally difficult to obtain the change. He is now absolutely obliged, either to economize his little stock on hand, or to reconcile himself to the want of these things, which he cannot purchase, until he first procures the change of his guinea bank note. For him to economize his little means, is but an expression to make known to you, that he is visited by want and famine, until he is enabled to purchase the different necessities of life. The retailer of them will have the less sale, the longer that the lower orders of the people are impeded from buying them; therefore the wholesale merchant, who disposes of his goods through the means of the retailer, will not import the



same quantity as usual. This observation is equally applicable to each commercial class of men in the state. Thus and thus, the national revenue is daily decreasing, from the state's being deprived of the use of its specie.

An administration, that can behold the distresses of the people with the same apathy of soul, which your ministers have displayed in the government of this great kingdom, is unpardonable. A silver, and a copper coinage took place in the sister kingdom, to obviate as much as possible each commercial difficulty that could arise out of any stoppage of the circulation of its specie. Here nothing has been done to meet a combination of political and social ills, that are incessantly taking place from a total suppression of the circulation of its specie. Such negligence in your ministers seems to indicate, that nature on the formation of each people, had endowed the one more than the other, with a greater degree of sensibility. However false in reality the opinion may be, yet it is justified by the patient disgraceful manner in which you have hitherto submitted to the injurious political supineness of your administration. A copper coinage could have been long since effected in this kingdom without subjecting the nation to any expence.

It might be introduced into the ways and means of raising the national supplies the next meeting of parliament. This coinage should



should consist of an equal number of pence; two-pences, and three-pences ; each piece, in order to prevent counterfeits as much as possible, ought to be the full value of the copper, including the expence of coinage. Government may issue it out into circulation in any manner that its ministers might recommend ; but then a sufficient quantity of it ought to be sent to the different places; where it is customary to have the army quartered, that the inhabitants may be able to accommodate each soldier with the change of his guinea bank note. An abundance of this coinage, together with the issuing out half-guinea bank notes, would answer for a most excellent substitute in the place of the circulating specie of the kingdom. If such a measure would be carried into immediate effect, the state would no longer be subject to these commercial restraints, that are the cause of those different ills under which the people are now suffering. As this coinage shall be introduced into use by government, it should be applied to the payment of the national debentures. It will be a saving to the state of a five per cent in proportion to the amount of the copper coinage.

No bank should be persuaded to issue out a note for a smaller amount than a half-guinea. Even these notes, if brought into circulation, ought to be, like guinea bank notes, endorsed, and like guinea bank notes, in case of a forgery, it should be recovered in



the same manner. It would be impossible to subject notes of a less value to these regulations. No individual in any line of business could command sufficient time to endorse, and to have endorsed, each note of a smaller value. Though he could command time for that purpose, still he would not submit to such incessant trouble. The less value the notes shall be, the more liable they are to be forged. The rapidity with which they must circulate, and the trifling inspection to which they would be subject, on being handed over from one to another, may influence some men to forge them. If a forgery should take place among them, on its being discovered by the people, their apprehensions and fears will persuade them to suspect the genuineness of the larger ones. Such a circumstance's taking place, would withdraw the public confidence from every banker's note in the kingdom. It would be then impossible to calculate the greatness of the commercial ills to which the people would in common be subject. Those, to which they are now exposed must be but very trivial, in comparison to those that would be then introduced into the state.

The private and public ills that arose out of the paper currency of France, afford a very forcible argument against its admittance into all commercial countries. But then, if each measure is to be rejected, because it is not free from abuse, it would be impossible



impossible to devise such, as would be acceptable. From a difference of circumstances, the paper currency of this kingdom, is not subject to the manifold abuses, that brought the paper currency of the French nation into disrepute.

Here it is applied to enlarge the several capitals of your different manufacturers, your merchants, your tradesmen, and your mechanics, &c. &c. whose means in general are not sufficient to enable them to extend the internal, and external commerce of the state, equal either to its importunities, or to its opportunities. It was issued there only for the purpose of administering relief to the incessant, importuning exigencies of that nation, whose wants were insatiable.

It is issued in this kingdom, under the control of those, whose private interests are immediately connected with it. In France it was introduced into circulation, under the dominion of men, whose private concerns were so remote, that they could not be materially affected by its abuse. The peculations of office, more than compensated, at all times, any injury to which they might be subjected from any public calamity, arising out of the diminution of national property.

The end for which a paper currency is issued in this kingdom, confines the amount of it, and the number to whom it is delivered is equally limited. The incessant importuning state necessities of France, obliged her



her to make use of it without measure. This circumstance, and the want of œconomy and of fidelity in all her public departments, introduced among the people at large an influx of paper currency, greater than the value of the national fund, that was assigned by her government for the payment of it.

Men like bankers, who are in the habit of calculating the value of every fixpence, and whose property is subject to the payment of their notes, will not issue them into circulation, but through the means of those who are entitled to their confidence. It is ridiculous to suppose, that such men will betray the trust reposed in them by the public, when they themselves would ultimately be the sufferers. No banking failure of late years can be brought forward in contradiction of that assertion. It is true, that a few of them has, from time to time stopped payment, but then the public did not in consequence of it, suffer any pecuniary loss.

It has been proved, that in times of public alarm, and of danger, no banking-house can provide a sufficiency of money to answer immediately the payment of all its notes. Perhaps a few individuals, who are always viewing men and things through false opticks, will not admit it to be true, because the house of Messieurs Pikes, during the late public alarm, continued to pay all its notes on demand. These gentlemen are more indebted for this difference of circumstance in their affairs to chance, than  
either



either to their superior sagacity, or to their provident wisdom. They had for at least ten months previous to the general alarm, declined all business in respect of *lending* money. It was not a resolution that was formed in consequence of the complexion of either commercial or public affairs. It was the result of a family quarrel; one partner would have Jack in, and Tom out, and the other would have Jack out, and Tom in.

From the time of their partial cessation from business, to the day of the late invasion, these gentlemen were unremittingly employed in collecting the several demands due to them. It was their duty to expedite it as much as possible, in order to provide against the payment of their various notes, that could not be kept in circulation, but through the commercial intercourse of those to whom they were in the habit of passing, from time to time, their paper by way of loan. These gentlemen did not, until within two months of the invasion, decidedly declare against transacting business as usual. Though they were then determined, that they would not in future accommodate any individual with a loan; yet their house was held out to the public, as an *affylum* for its guineas. This kind proffer was accepted of by the monied men, as a commercial *sanctum sanctorum* for their wealth. Such as were indebted to their house, were obliged to discharge in due time the remaining part of their several debts. From the co-operation



tion of all these circumstances, their circulating paper at the rate of nineteen to twenty, must have been paid long ere the invasion took place. They must from the co-operation of the same circumstances, have been provided with specie for the payment of such of their notes, as were then in circulation. Whence then their pecuniary arrogance, their self-created importance, their public vain boasting, that they had a golden guinea against each of their paper guineas?

An impartial, but a true investigation of the causes, that created a distinction between their banking-house, and those of others, is of much importance to the internal and external commerce of the state. As long as their house is held forth to the world, as an exception to the general rule "that no banking-house can in times of public alarm, and of danger, provide a sufficiency of specie to answer immediately the payment of all its notes," the public will not be reconciled to the paper currency of your several bankers. For the sake of argument let it be supposed, that previous to the day of invasion, the house of Messieurs Pikes had been in the habit of transacting as usual their business. Their notes that would then have been in circulation, would have amounted to, at least two hundred thousands of pounds sterling. In what manner could they have discharged that sum if immediate payment had been demanded



demanded by the several proprietors of their circulating notes. It is more than probable, that the specie, which might then be in their possession, would not have been adequate to the payment of their accountable receipts. If they even had disposed of the sixty thousand pounds sterling of stock, that belongs to one of the partners, it would not have been sufficient to have met the pressing exigencies of that house. Though that amount of stock is brought into calculation as sixty thousand pounds sterling, yet from the reduced price of the commodity, it would not then have been sold for a greater sum, than forty thousand pounds sterling. From this statement of their affairs, since their pecuniary resources could not have been more abundant, than those of other brother-bankers, they must, like them from the same causes, have failed in the punctual payment of their notes.

It is now ten months since your manufacturers, and the lower orders of the people have been visited by want and misery; still nothing has been done to alleviate their distresses. This unmeaning supineness in the administration of public affairs, has entailed on them a measure of wretchedness, that has rendered it highly criminal. If the voice of humanity is not sufficiently powerful, to awaken your ministers to a sense of their duty, self-interest should persuade them to act a more political part. A minister enjoys his place no longer, than until the calamities



mities of the people are rendered by his impotency insupportable. Their voice then obliges him, amid the shouts and acclamations of the populace, to retreat unpitied, tho' encumbered with disgrace and infamy. You have your patriots too, who, in the fulness of their wisdom, like doctor San Grado, are for administering the same remedy for each disease incident to the body-politic. Unfortunate nation, thou, who canst not find in the multitude of thy counsellors, such wisdom as could protect the lower orders of thy people, from the insupportable calamities and wretchedness of life.

Mr. P-----m in his laconic manner, at the close of the last sessions of your late parliament, came forward as usual, from government, to acquaint the house, that tho' the private charities were very great, yet they were not adequate to the relief of your suffering manufacturers. He also informed the house, that it was therefore in contemplation, to afford the several proprietors of your different manufactures such pecuniary aid, as would enable them to employ the working manufacturer. He was kind and gracious enough to observe at the same time, that the manufacturers were a useful body in the state. "Would to the Gods they had sent it by a better messenger." Of this scheme, like the furrows of the deep, no trace remains behind. Good God! what a mockery, what an insult to the feelings of a people visited by misery and by famine.

Majesty



Majesty in the plenitude of eastern despotism, could not have done more to alienate the affections of the people.

From what was said by Mr. P. in respect of that subject, it appeared, as if it had been the intention of government to accommodate the several proprietors of your different manufactures with debentures. If that measure had been followed up by its ministers with impartiality and with wisdom, it would have been a greater preventative against misdemeanors, and every species of treason, than the criminal part of your laws. The body of the people would then have been more usefully employed to their country's good, than in forming associations and conspiracies to annihilate the constitution, and to imole you in its ruins. Idleness produced by inoccupation, affords the most favorable season for their growth, and for their ripening into maturity, when, like exotics in any other clime, they would wither, and they would decay away.

The present, and the growing decrease of your national revenue, affords an incontrovertible, though a melancholy argument, to prove how impolitic it is, to place at too remote a distance from the commercial scene of action, the lower orders of the people. If that deficiency of the national revenue was caused by an absolute inherent poverty in the state, no man who was versed in politics and in commercial affairs, would hesitate to announce to the world the approach-



ing decline, and fall of your empire. No state can be visited by a stronger symptom of a national decay. As in the human body, so in the body politic, if it be not retarded in its progress, and then removed, it will, either sooner or later bring on the dissolution of the state.

*Since government has confessed, that the lower orders of the people are a useful body to the state,* let its ministers devise some mode, that will restore to them the exercise, and the use of their various occupations in life. Even those then, who compose the lowest order in the state, will enjoy, as usual the pecuniary means, that did enable its several members to consume in greater quantities the excisable commodities. A national revenue cannot be productive, without the general assistance of the lower orders of the people. It is to this cause that a great empire must be indebted for its means to meet the exigencies of its government; their mite in political calculations, from the greatness of their number, should not be overlooked by the minister. In respect of quantity, it is like innumerable fractions, that when reduced to one whole sum, surprise and amaze. He, who in the sixteenth century, wished that this kingdom had been buried in the ocean, provided the inhabitants were established in the sister kingdom, was a man fitted for the first ministerial office.

Now,



Now, in order to supply the deficiency of the old taxes, must be imposed on the state. But then, such should be made choice of, as will, if possible affect only the higher ranks of the people. Where is the wisdom to subject the several individuals of the lower orders in the state to more taxes, whose penury and misery are the efficient cause of the deficiencies in the national revenue. The minister of a state which is emerging, but by slow degrees into general opulence, will not, if he is versed in political, and commercial affairs, make them his chief object of taxation, that like a later swarm, on being fed from the honey of a more early one, they should in future yield in greater abundance.

Hats of a certain value, is a most excellent object for taxation; so is plate, with the exception of a few articles to a certain amount: nay, infinitely more so, if you will but reflect, that every ounce of silver, which has from a fondness for a distinctional show, and parade in life, been rendered a commercial caput mortuum, is so much taken away from the circulating fund, through the means of which one commodity is exchanged with greater facility for another. Behold it in another point of view! You will then admit, that it is an object of the first magnitude for taxation. It is to the owner, from its not being in commercial circulation a loss of a fix per cent interest, who is thereby deprived of so much means, that would otherwise enable him to purchase



chase more of the other different articles of life. Beside, from its durableness, it is subject to so little wear, and tare, that the use of it excludes a more general consumption of the other commodities, that have not that quality attached to them, which is the very life and soul of all commercial intercourse between man, and man.

There are other objects for taxation, equally deserving the attention of government, such as dogs, supernumerary servants, horses merely for parade, and pleasure, and those for whose use and benefit the game laws have been enacted, in exclusion to the natural rights of the body of the people. Such persons should be taxed, if it were only to reconcile the minds of the different members of the state to so invidious a distinction. Since they enjoy the purchase, why not pay the price? Like a property, that has been first usurped, and then fairly bought, the payment of an annual tax, in acknowledgment of those privileges, which the game laws have conferred on them, would afford a better title to exclude the right of others, than that by which they have been hitherto enjoyed. This tax may offend some, though it cannot injure any individual in the state. Those, who would subject themselves to the payment of it, should not find fault with it, since the effects arising out of it, would on a larger scale, ensure them with a greater degree of certainty, the enjoyment of these country sports



sports to which they are so much attached. Such, as whose circumstances will not suffer them to subscribe to the payment of that tax, must seek for consolation in the old adage, "it is a bad wind, that blows no one good."

Their attention would then be in future solely devoted to the management of their little domestic affairs, which would enlarge their circumstances in the same degree, that they have hitherto, through neglect, been circumscribed. Such a change in the situation of their affairs, would be of higher importance to their families, and of greater benefit to the commercial world, than any amusement that can be derived from country sports. A little more attention to their domestic affairs, would then enable each family to consume more largely your internal commodities. Thus the wants of your several manufacturers, &c. would be more abundantly provided for, and they would thereby be better enabled to consume in larger quantities the different products of the soil.

A tax on horses, that are kept merely for show, and parade, and on dogs, would produce all these different benign effects in a greater degree. That on hats of a certain value, and another on servants, if they exceed a certain number, must be unexceptionable, since they will not affect the lower orders of the people. Each tax can be made productive, provided the minister possesses sufficient abilities to impose them in such a manner



manner, as that their payment shall not be eluded without being subject, in the highest degree to detection. Nothing is more possible than to carry it into effect.

Suffering humanity requires of the state some peace-offering, to atone for its offences to an injured people, whose greatest crime is poverty and indigence. Let them be but restored to the exercise and to the use of their different functions; all then will be well again. Each will as usual, resume his wonted habits of industry, and each shall then contribute his mite to promote that traffical intercourse, which constitutes the happiness of every individual, and without which, your national revenue cannot be productive.

An impartial, and a wise distribution of debentures among the several manufacturers, would have anticipated all these commercial and national ills, that have arisen out of the want of the circulating specie of the state. If it had taken place, the working manufacturer would then have had the means for consuming the different products of the soil, which would have ultimately been exchanged, for the several articles arising from your different manufactures. In this manner, each would have contributed to the support of the other.

Though the aspect of commercial and national affairs is not the most inviting, yet a great deal may be done, provided the government will come forward to administer  
to



to the people its fostering aid. It should be given unto them, in a manner which would strongly mark on that occasion, the prudence and the wisdom of the minister's measures, and it should be carried into execution, with a degree of confidence and of liberality that would ensure success. No paltry national consideration, should persuade the minister to suffer his conduct to be influenced by a niggardness, that must defeat its own end.

Any loss that government can suffer, from its confidence in the several proprietors of your different manufactures, would not be half so injurious to the people at large, as that to which they are now subject, from the incessant daily reduction of their commerce, and of their national revenue. A loss on the part of government, should be considered like a premium of insurance, that is given to secure the safe succession of a property infinitely more valuable. There is not any thing, that the government should not risque to ensure to the people the free enjoyment of a traffical intercourse. Though the college of physicians shall prescribe; though ministers shall harangue, and patriots declaim, and though divines shall preach to advantage the soul; still in the abstract, it is the panacea of human life. It is to the rich, the mines of Mexico, and of Peru, and to the poor, it is his little patrimony, that ensures him plenty and peace at home.

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A distri-



A distribution of debentures by way of loan, to the several proprietors of your different manufactures, or what must be more accommodating, a part of the proposed copper coinage, that either should circulate among the numerous individuals of the lower orders in the state, would be but lending it unto the poor, to give unto the rich, and to replenish the coffers of the national revenue. Their incessant wants, like another emetic, would soon make them discharge it. Thus it would be by them returned into the commercial fund of traffical intercourse. In this manner, as often as it would be lent unto them, it would be returned. Each return, from the benefits arising out of a traffical intercourse, would be accompanied with profit to the commercial community, and to the state. To the state, from the encreased consumption of its impost commodities, and to the commercial community from more manifold returns of the various articles bought and sold. In a well regulated state, none of its individuals should, for a moment be suffered to want, and they should be obliged to endeavour by their labor to provide against that want.

The enlarging by debentures, or by a part of the proposed copper coinage, the means of the several proprietors of your different manufactures, will, certainly for the present, administer great relief to the people. More must be done on the part of government, to strike at the root of the evil, that is, the  
cause



cause of circumscribing at all times, the progressive state of your manufactures, and that is incessantly preying on the very vitals of your internal, and external commerce.

In the sifter kingdom, the different retailers of the various articles of life, are generally in the habit of receiving immediate payment, for whatever goods are disposed of by them. Though they do give credit to particular persons, it is only to those, who will discharge their debts when demanded. Here each retailer, without any discrimination of persons, will extend the credit of customers, let his capital be ever so small, until the whole of it shall be absorbed in book-debts, that he might rise the higher in his demands. Customers are so well apprized of the terms on which they deal, that they are persuaded to withhold the payment of the retailer's demand much longer, than it will suit his commercial convenience. This mode of traffical dealing, is a losing game to the retailer, and to the customer, and it is equally injurious to your manufactures, and to your commerce.

Your retailer, in order to be enabled to traffick in that injurious, and iniquitous manner, purchases, almost the various articles of the different manufactures in the English market, where he is sure, from it's overgrown opulence, to be accommodated with a credit, that will obviate those ills, which would otherwise result from the tardy payments of his several customers. Thus



the home consumption of the different articles arising out of your various manufactures, is impeded. A simple act of the legislature, composed of a few enacting clauses, would soon do away this commercial grievance. It could be carried into effect, without subjecting the nation to any jealousy on the part of the sister kingdom; and, at the same time, that it would operate to enrich the retailer, it would protect the customer from his all-devouring jaws.

If in the retailing business, without any discrimination of persons, each individual in the state was obliged to discharge every quarter, or every half-year at farthest, his shop-keeper's demand, it must produce a change in the affairs of the several retailers of the different manufactures, that would enable them to purchase such as were fabricated at home, in preference to those of the sister kingdom. A twelve, or an eighteen months credit, instead of one for six, or nine months, could not then make so material a difference, as to persuade them to purchase English, in preference to Irish manufactures. Whenever a change in their circumstances shall take place, that will enable them to meet the payment of an Irish credit, it is then their duty, with an unrivalled preference, to purchase of the home manufacturer.

If a bale of English goods is sold in the Irish market, its value is remitted over to that kingdom. There it is disposed of in commercial



commercial traffic, which makes it to circulate among the working manufacturers. From this commercial production, and reproduction, they are provided in greater abundance, with the means of purchasing in larger quantities, the several articles of life from the different retailers. Thus it would fare with that class of men in this kingdom, were they in the habit of disposing only of your Irish manufactures.

Your government is so totally ignorant of the nature of your trade, and of your commerce, that it suffers a law to exist, which encourages each retailer to extend the credit of every customer. By that law, all book-debts indiscriminately, after their being due for the space of twelve months, are then subject to an interest of six per cent. This circumstance, in conjunction with an English credit of eighteen months, is a three per cent in favor of the English market, and of course the same to the prejudice of your manufactures.

It is now submitted to the superior wisdom of administration, whether it is not adviseable to have a law enacted, that would prohibit each retailer from keeping an open account with any customer, for a longer space of time than six months; to be at all times computed, in the first instance, from the beginning of the customer's dealings, and to be in future computed from the commencement of any other dealing, subsequent to the closing of the last six months account.



account. It is also submitted to the superior wisdom of administration, whether each retailer should not be prohibited from opening a new account with any customer, until the last shall be discharged in full. It is further submitted to the superior wisdom of administration, whether each retailer, and every other person, should not be excluded from recovering in future, the amount of any note or bond, that shall be passed, in any manner, in consequence of any book-debt, which shall be due from a customer to any retailer, and it is also submitted to the superior wisdom of administration, whether as an enforcing clause, it should not be enacted, that each retailer shall be excluded from recovering the amount of any book-debt, unless he first proves by his own affidavit, or by that of his clerk, that he, since contrary to law, is not, nor has not been in the habit of keeping an open account with any customer for a longer space of time, than as in manner prescribed by act of parliament. That the force of so salutary a law, might be eluded as little as possible; it is, by way of another enforcing clause, submitted to the superior wisdom of administration, whether, on the affidavit's being false, it should not operate as a discharge in full, for whatever debt or debts shall then be due to the retailer from his several customers.

Such a law should be made to take place *in futuro*, and not *in presenti*. Every individual in the state, will then be able to adjust his



his family affairs in such a manner, that he will not feel those inconveniences to which he would otherwise be subjected. The state must derive many essential benefits from the kind operations of that law ; the heads of each family must then discharge at a stated time, the amount of their house-hold expences, with a degree of punctuality, that will enable the retailer to meet an Irish manufacturer's credit. A three, or a six per cent in favour of the English manufactures, will no longer be an object to the retailer, that should persuade him to give them the preference. If his profit arises from the quantity of goods that he shall retail, he should dispose only of Irish manufactures. The value of them will indubitably circulate among the working manufacturers, and among the various ranks of men in the state, whose wants will oblige them to exchange it ultimately for the different articles in his shop. Thus he must retail a greater quantity of goods by selling those of Irish manufacture, than if he was to dispose of others of a foreign nature, whose value would circulate only in the state, that fabricated them, to the emolument of its retailers. If there is any rank of people in this state more interested than another, in the sale of your manufactures, it is the men of landed property. Every ten shillings that are disposed of in purchasing the manufactures of a foreign growth, shall deprive your working manufacturer of so much.

His



His means, the more they are thereby confined, the less quantity he shall consume of the different products of the soil ; this circumstance should persuade that class of men, to give on every occasion, a decided preference to the home manufactures.

The Right hon. John Foster, your late speaker, has, by the introduction of the corn-laws into the kingdom, done more to promote its welfare, than any other individual member in the state. It has obtained him a better title to the esteem and to the regards of the people, than the licentious, unmeaning, and unprofitable declamations of a G-----n, on whom was wantonly bestowed sixty thousands of pounds sterling of the national money. For what? For nothing! for breaking the prison of a political embryo ripening fast into maturity, which would, long ere now have introduced itself into life, though a G-----n had never existed. You have of late been informed by Mr. F---x, that this gentleman is the greatest man amongst you, and that his only fault, if he has any, is that of *timidity* in embracing any thing, which has the appearance of *innovation*. Arrogant, insolent libeller, know ye, that the least of us has not any ambition to be put into competition with him, or with you. The literal meaning of that compliment to Mr. G-----n, is, scratch me, and I will scratch you, that our expiring political fame may live a little longer.

You,



You, who have so long been in the habit of hearing Mr. G-----n speak, and of reading his several speeches; you, who cannot so soon forget his invite in his senatorial capacity to the people, to revenge the loss of his lord lieutenant, are the best judges, whether timidity is the least of his faults. Unfortunate man! if this matter shall be decided in his favour by you, how enormous must his other crimes appear to be; without measure, without end. No man could be more mistaken in, or so totally ignorant of the object of his panegyric as Mr. F--x. Mr. G-----n has declared, that public fame is cause sufficient to admit of an impeachment. If on this principle he was arraigned before the tribunal of the public, to be tried for his various offences, the development of his crimes, would prove him to be the meanest, the basest, but not the wisest of mankind. What principle of public right has not he contemned? What violation of private, and of public wrongs has not been recommended by him? What weaker reason has not he endeavoured to make appear the stronger argument? All to gratify an ungratifying ambition, that you may pay the piper, whilst he shall dance. He has even been accused of receiving the wages of a hireling, under the mask of patriotism. "The hireling fleeth because he is an hireling, and careth not for the people." This is the man of the man of the people, who should not bring him again into public notice, unless he means to wound his rest.



His writings have left on record, sufficient proof to assure mankind, that he is no scholar. Though few the *literary* compositions, with which he has favored the world, yet their leading features are bombast, in respect of style, inaccuracy in the manner of expressing his sentiments, a want of grammatical propriety throughout the whole, and his sentences are so often wrapped up in obscurity, that like a riddle without a meaning, you cannot discover the subject matter to which they allude. You have too on record, that he is no lawyer; the little with which he was entrusted, in that way by the nation, was then committed to the care of others, because he was not equal to the management of it; though he had for that purpose, received of her money to the amount of sixty thousands of pounds sterling. It is self-evident, that he does not know the first leading principles of politics. He is no politician, otherwise he would not have probed the wounds of the state, until it was near to expire under his injudicious political operations. In his senatorial capacity, you always beheld him performing like a quack, who is for stopping in the first instance the progress of the disorder, without removing the offending matter. Such is this mighty, this strong-handed man, who wanted to tear from off the brow of a Flood his well earned laurels. If ever he should again be introduced to public notice, it cannot be from the admiration of his parts, but from a wonder



der how he has imposed himself on the world as a man of the first rate abilities. Such like patriots as him, like barking, snarling cabin curs, are better fitted to alarm the people, than either to protect, or to defend a state from danger.

Mr. F--x in complimenting that gentleman, has in an indirect manner insinuated, that you have not any literary pretensions to entitle your kingdom to wrest from his countrymen their claim to superior abilities. If he had been generous enough to have assigned the true cause of it, this matter must have been decided in your favor. The truth is, that in the sister kingdom, they are so unequal to the management of affairs, their national business could not be transacted without the assistance of your country-men. From a liberality of sentiment you in shoals export them to England, where they, in their several departments, have eclipsed the lustre of English fame. Ungenerous man to make so humiliating a distinction, that does not exist; how ungrateful of him, who has publicly declared, that it is a Burke, an Irishman, to whom he is indebted for his knowledge of the English constitution.

However illiberal he has been in his manners towards the Irish, they are too well bred to demean themselves towards him in so an ungentleman-like style. He shall not be so humiliatingly degraded, as to put him in competition with Mr. G-----n, of the two he is the greater, the better man; but



then, like a G---n, as if infected with the same political jaundice, each object appears to him to assume the same hue with the nature of that complaint. He sees but darkly through the glass of politics, however great his abilities. Oh! unfortunate nation! that he should make choice of you as the object to purge him of his political spleen.

He too is for probing the body-politic of his country in the most vulnerable parts, that by way of incision, its humours may be carried off through those that are vital. Admirable quack! dost thou know that the body-politic, like the human body, would then be rendered one mass of political corruption! Each member shall then execrate his folly, for suffering you to administer to their relief.

That gentleman, in a speech on the anniversary of his election for Westminster, publicly declared, that unless an entire radical reform took place not only in the house of commons in that kingdom, but also in every branch of its executive power; nay, in short if it was not extended to the whole system of its government, there was no chance for his country to enjoy much longer any blessing. Admirable politician! how divinely prophetic! what a miracle of a man! he also informed the meeting, which was collected on that occasion, that he opposed during the progress of the American war, measures which appeared to him to be highly injurious to the constitution of his country.



try. If he was a man of candor, if he was any thing but a boaster of unbounded arrogance, he would have acknowledged to the meeting, that in the begining of that war, he asserted the right of taxation in the mother country over the colonies. He, even then declared, that he entertained so little doubt of her claim to the right of taxing the colonies, that he was in his own mind well assured, that it also extended to your kingdom. You beheld him during his administration, endeavoring to deprive, in a manner, the East-India-Company of their right to the dominion of its territories, that must have rendered him, and his associates, independent of the crown, and of the people. He has of late told you in his senatorial capacity, that he acquiesced in granting to this country, condescensions, not because he approved of them, but because you wished for them. What a kind protector! the best of statesmen! a most indulgent parent. How considerate! he, as children of a larger growth, gave unto you the rattle, though it were to lead to your destruction; he administered the poison, but he kept back the antidote. What a rara avis of a man! how much more the world will have his loss to bewail, since phenix-like, it cannot from his ashes ensue itself a successor.

The same gentleman, has in another part of his speech declared, that not any thing can be of use to his country, until an entire, and a complete change of system shall take place.



place. This declaration he afterwards qualifies, by saying, that he means such a change as is consistent with the *existence* of monarchy, of the house of lords, and of the house of commons. He, Fox like, is resolved that he will not get into a political hen-roost, that does not afford him any other means of escape, but that by which he has entered. Like the Chameleon, he shall as often change opinion, as that animal shall its color, and proteus-like, he shall with the same facility assume a character, as the other was wont to transform himself into a different shape.

His mode of inviting the great mass of the people of that country, to effect a radical change in the system of their government, is deserving of your attention; he assures them, that their parliament, has on the minister conferred absolute power. He then appeals to the feelings of the meeting, to know whether the man who most fears a change, or he who is most alarmed at invasion, should not risk any thing to remove an evil so intolerable, as that under which his country groans. He tells them in the very same moment, that he is not *naturally* a friend to innovation, and that he is neither for destroying subordination, nor for despising authority; but then he declares to them, that of two evils they should choose the least: he does not at the same time forget to assure them, that when they shall conform themselves to his wishes, he will then readily act as their obedient servant.

Nothing



Nothing can be more inflammatory than this part of his address ; yet he is bold enough without a blush ; with unparalleled effrontery to assert in that meeting, that his country is deprived of the liberty of speech. Such a notorious falsehood should caution every well-meaning person against adopting the opinions of a man, who is now the professed demagogue of the people. Such opinions, if they were carried into practice, would shake the very foundation of the crown ; the house of lords would be involved in its ruin, and the house of commons would no longer be composed of the representatives of a free people, but of those of the populace.

What can be more inconsiderate, more cruel, or inhuman, than to invite the lower orders of the people of any country to effect a change of government, that must subject them to endure the most excruciating misery, and the most dreadful calamities ! like an embryo ripening into maturity, such change as is best fitted for man, shall of itself take place, and like the fruit, though blasted in the bud, another, and another will arise, phoenix like, which shall in spite of the procrastinating hand of man arrive to maturity. To guess the different changes that shall take place by the hand of time, in concurrence with events, that will arise, would deprive a Burke of the praise due to his well acquired political fame. If Mr. F--x's change of government should take place in the manner that has been recommended



mended by him, the populace, like lyons, that have been for some time deprived of their natural liberty, and then suffered to roam uncontrolled, will with relentless pity, wreak their unbridled fury without discrimination on each member of the higher ranks in the state. They shall continue their depredations on man, and on private property, until every distinction in respect of each shall cease to exist.

Such impolitic, such improvident conduct on the part of the populace, shall utterly for a time extirpate in that state all traffical intercourse. The pecuniary resources, that have hitherto afforded the lower orders of the people the means of purchasing the bread of life, shall then be dried up. They shall now apply in vain to the self-created government to devise some mode that will enable them to exist. The government whose means must be limited, will not have it in its power to administer to their wants. In order to provide against their importunities, and to ensure the succession of an usurped government, a foreign war is declared. Its armies are now proffered to them as an assylum, which is accepted of on their part, through want and every other species of wretchedness, to which the nature of man is subject. The *promise* of a *territorial* reward to the *brave defenders* of their country on the *return* of peace, and their acquired habit for plunder reconcile some to traffic in the blood of  
their



their own species, in defiance of every feeling either human or divine.

A standing army at the command of any popular despot, will always afford means that shall provide for the remainder of the people. That he may be liberated from their incessant importunities, he will declare them to be in a state of conspiracy, and the next moment, like victims, he shall order them to the altar, where, through the ascending power of the army, they shall without judge or jury be sacrificed; in this manner he shall employ one half of the people against the other half, as if the various calamities, and the different diseases incident to life, were not sufficient of themselves to thin the human species.

The promised territorial reward, that shall be held out by any government to the brave defenders of their country, is but a lure to effect the tyrant's purpose. It is an insult to the understanding of those to whom it shall be offered, and it is an impeachment against their feelings. The chance is of such a nature, that it is like a lottery, which is composed of a hundred thousand blanks, and but of one prize; though it should be obtained, it cannot be worth the price for which it was purchased. Any thing that the generality of the different members of the lower orders in the state shall acquire through the dissolution of their government, will never compensate for the several blessings of which they shall be deprived from the same cause

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be deprived. If all the specie in the state was to be equally divided among them, as the reward of their political offences, and even if they were to obtain an equal distribution of the land; their situation in the kingdom would then be infinitely more miserable, more wretched, than what they did experience from the inequality of their several ranks in life.

On distributing an equal division of the specie in England among every individual of that state, it would not afford any more to each person than four guineas. Her specie may amount to thirty-two millions of guineas, and her population may consist of eight millions of people, which is at the rate of four guineas to every individual in that kingdom. If it has issued a greater quantity of specie than what has been brought into calculation, it should not be taken into account, because it is possessed by the sister kingdom, Scotland, and its several dependencies. If a division of her territorial property was also, in the same manner to take place, each individual's share would not be more than three acres of land, which would not comparatively be worth more than a pound sterling the acre. Her territorial property is certainly of a larger extent than twenty-four millions of acres, but then, great allowances must be made for those parts of it that are nothing but moor, and for such as consist of large tracts of heath, and of morasses: the extent of her territory is also liable to



to a further deduction for such parts of it as are always under water.

An enquiry into the amount of her annual revenue arising, in the present state of things out of her various resources, will prove, that if it was equally distributed among her people, it would afford a larger dividend than any, which could be derived from the division of her specie, and of her territorial property. It has been proved from documents whose veracity has not been questioned, that the amount of her external commerce does exceed the sum of thirty millions of pounds sterling. The extent of her land has already been computed to consist of twenty-four millions of acres, which under the kind influence of her internal commerce, including the labor and the different expences, that will at all times await its cultivation, must produce an enormous annual revenue of ninety-six millions of pounds sterling, at the rate of four pounds sterling by the acre. Her manufactures, &c. &c. must yield a like revenue, otherwise the different products of the soil could not be consumed. The several sums arising from her various imposts, and excise duties, which amount to the yearly sum of twenty millions of pounds sterling, must also be included in the present calculation. This sum, together with the revenue produced by her foreign commerce, the different products of her soil, and from her various manufactures, will yearly amount to the enormous



sum, but not to the exaggerated one, of two hundred and forty-two millions of pounds sterling. The present calculation does not include the various other sums arising from her several public places of resort, from her different mines, her coal-pits, her sea and inland navigation, her fresh and salt-water fisheries, her waste grounds, her turnpike roads, post horses, and carriages, the different sums of interest paid to her merchants by her various settlements, and by the sister kingdoms, the territorial revenue out of the Indies, her house-rent, and lastly from the enormous sums annually remitted to England on account of the absentees of Ireland and of Scotland ; beside her port-charges.

If the sum of two hundred and forty-two millions of pounds sterling, was to be equally divided among her people, each person's dividend would amount to thirty pounds, five shillings sterling. Such a division might for once take place, but then, from natural causes, it must cease in future to exist. If it was carried into effect, it would annihilate these pre-disposing causes to which she is indebted for an annual revenue, that is the admiration, and the wonder of all Europe. Even in the manner, as it is at present distributed, each manufacturer, each mechanic, and each laborer enjoy a greater, and a more comfortable revenue, than if there was assigned to their use an equal portion of her specie, and of her landed property. There is scarce a laboring inhabitant of that country



try who cannot assure himself, from his industry an annual income of thirty pounds sterl. each manufacturer, and each mechanic, from the exercise and use of their different professions, can in greater abundance than the laborer obtain means to provide against their several wants. Thus it fares with every rank of men in that kingdom, the farther that each is removed from what is called the lowest order in the state.

The external and internal commercial revenue of England, or of any country, is governed by laws, as invariable in their effects, as those to which inactive matter is obliged to subscribe; if they should cease to exist, or be impeded in producing their different effects, the commercial revenue of the state must in consequence of it suffer; it matters not from what cause the impediment arises, the effects produced will still be the same. The middle rank of the people, nor those of the lower orders should not therefore enter into political disputes, which can in their consequences interrupt the harmony of their commercial intercourse with each other; for it is they who most will suffer. As long as they are protected from the insolence, and from the tyranny of their superiors, and so long as they enjoy the trial by jury, let them leave all meaner things to *low* ambition, and to the fastidious pride of the higher ranks, who are more interested in the issue of them, than they themselves.

Mr.



Mr. F--x in his appeal to the great mass of the people of England, in order to awaken in them a disrespect and a contempt for her government, declares that peace would not secure them from slavery. He proves the truth of his assertion by saying, that they must be subject to many, and to very heavy grievances from the collection of an annual revenue of twenty-two millions of pounds sterling, that must be paid, though a peace were immediately to take place. The poison in his usual manner is administered by him, for the antidote is kept back; he has concealed from their view, that the annual national revenue of which he so bitterly complains, has in its consequences ensured to them and to their successors a commercial one for greatness, unparalleled in the annals of Europe. Since they enjoy the purchase, why not pay the price, that is no more than one year's purchase for a life-annuity, subject to a kind of a chief rent of about nine pence in the pound sterling from the lower, and the middle ranks in the state, and not much more, from the higher classes, than double that sum.

Each matter in the circle of human affairs has its limits prescribed, which it cannot over-leap. The national debt is daily encreasing to so great a degree of magnitude, that the time will soon arrive, when it must either liquidate itself or be discharged from the coffers of the more wealthy ranks. When either events shall take place,  
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the lower, nor the middle orders in the state, will not be thereby injured. Their situation in life excludes them from being effected by any new tax, which could contribute to the reduction of that debt. If it should take place, the profit will be theirs, and the loss must attach itself to others. Though it were to be effected by what is called a national bankruptcy, they would suffer in consequence of it but little or no inconvenience. The property that has been from time to time placed in her public funds, arose from the redundant capitals of her several members. The loss therefore, that would ensue from a national bankruptcy, though it might be individually felt, still it would not impede that general commercial intercourse of all her several members, to which the lower and the middle ranks in every state are indebted for a livelihood. An appeal to experience will prove that her commerce has at all times encreased in proportion as her national debt was enlarged. It is a well known fact, that immediately on the conclusion of each war since the accession of queen Anne, the foreign trade of that country has extended itself in a manner therefore unknown. Her internal commerce must also have been at the same time encreased proportioned to the effects that produced the enlargement of her foreign trade. However difficult it may be for some to account for the causes of it; yet her foreign, and internal commerce always enlarged



enlarged in the same degree, that her national debt was encreased. A principle reason to be assigned for it is, that it has at all times brought a greater quantity of her specie into circulation, which would otherwise have remained in an inactive state. The unquestionable security of her funds, persuaded many of her individuals to confide their treasure to her, which formed capitals for her different commercial members, that have enabled them to assume the rank of the richest and of the most powerful people in all Europe. Such are her resources, that if made use of, they are equal to the payment of her debt, and so great are her means, that it could with full compensation to each member in the state be discharged in the course of twenty years.

Any change that could possibly take place in the lowest, and in the middle ranks of her people from an equal division of all her specie, and of all her lands, among her several members, would not render their social state in life more comfortable, nor more happy, than what each must now experience. If such an alteration in her political system was to be effected, they would then be deprived of the use of many things, the enjoyment of which, has from long usage recommended them as the necessaries of life. On the introduction of such a change into any state, its various trades, and professions, which now afford not only the conveniencies but the elegancies of life, would  
cease



cease to exist, and its commerce must then be annihilated. The lower orders of the people would no longer be provided for out of the coffers of the rich, whose wealth will at all times afford them more ample means than any that can be obtained from a state of equality.

However inviting, or flattering, a civil system of that nature may appear to be to the envious, or the disappointed man, its pernicious social effects would but too soon convince them of their error. In a commercial country, where an inequality of rank must be its prominent feature, each member of the lower orders through the acquired appetites, and wants of the higher ranks are better fed, and better clothed than what could possibly take place in a state of equality which must always counteract the industry of man.

To follow up the argument, let it be taken for granted, that the current specie of England, and her lands are equally divided among her several people. It must be concluded from thence; that she is now without trade, and without commerce, either foreign or internal; to suppose it otherwise would be arguing for the existence of impossibilities. It is a well known fact, that without capitals no commercial business can be transacted in any state.

The annihilation of the commerce of England would be followed by the desertion of her public places of traffical resort. The commercial intercourse of her people

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must



must then be in future confined to their approximating neighbours, among whom all traffic must cease, because the one would not have any thing to offer in exchange, but that with which the other was already provided. That cursed state of equality would introduce among her people, evils infinitely more injurious to their welfare, than those that have been detailed. So soon, as the union of the different links in the great commercial chain of human life was dissolved, her people would be deprived of that mutual intercourse, which now forms them into one great body. The mind of man which will not submit to a state of total inactivity, would then persuade her people to form themselves into different tribes, whose jarring interests would keep them in one continued scene of warfare.

Mr. Fox, from the complexion of his speech to the meeting, on the anniversary of his election for Westminster, seems to feel much on account of the political tyranny to which Ireland is reduced. He tells them, that it is a matter of right to destroy a house in that kingdom, whenever the owner of it shall be from home at a certain hour of the night. This information is followed up, by his declaring to them, that in that country, the destruction of human beings is regarded, as a loss only of so much inanimate matter. In his usual hoodwinked manner, he conceals from them, that the one is the natural consequence of the other. In his  
narrative



narrative in respect of the political affairs of Ireland, you will find that no mention is made of the defenders, a nefarious nocturnal banditti, who has assumed the undeserved appellation of United Irishmen.

No laws that are attached to a free state, could possibly prevent the commission of their diabolical offences. Their ingenuity for some time defied both the law and the government; it was impossible to detect them through the ordinary course of the law, in the commission of their several crimes, and of their manifold treasonable practices. Night was the time appointed for their meetings, and the place of them was not only concealed from the knowledge of the public, but it was also so often varied, that it could not be discovered on the part of government. When they attacked the house of the individual, their number was always so great, that it precluded every chance of hope, that could arise from resistance. On these occasions, the victim of their resentment was led to the altar, where they sacrificed him with savage cruelty, in defiance of all laws, both human and divine, because he had not adopted, either their opinions, or their manners.

These people were bound in such a bond of union, that the one would not for some time inform against the other. If a man was suspected of discovering against them, they murdered him; even those, who publicly disapproved of their measures, have



been by them put to death. The public thus awed, they eluded the punishment of their criminal offences, which would have taken place from a discovery on the part of those, who abhorred their infernal deeds. Each object which led to the completion of their abominable schemes, was also conducted with such a degree of impenetrable secrecy, that even the eye of an argus could not penetrate the mist, which veiled all their actions from public view.

It was impossible, that in this state of affairs, the law could have met the evil with any degree of effect, until the people were first protected by government in their lives, and in their properties. In order that it might be accomplished, it was absolutely necessary to enjoin the inhabitants of each house, in the disaffected districts, to be within doors at a certain hour after sunset, that the defenders, like the voracious creatures of the animal tribe, should be confined to their dens, to prevent them from committing in future, their horrid depredations on man, and on every thing that is held sacred by the laws of society. Such the obstinacy, such the infatuation of that deluded people called defenders, that they did not comply with the order, which enjoined them to be within their houses at a certain hour after sunset, until it was enforced in a manner not the most pleasing.

What neither the law, nor the injunctions of the military could execute, was effected  
by



by the burning of a few houses ; by this means, now that every person was secured in his life, and in his property, the law began to execute itself. Those, who were injured by these miscreants, were then no longer influenced through fear to conceal their crimes, and they themselves turned informers against one another. On being accused of the crimes with which they were charged, their punishment of course followed. Thus the burning of a few houses was the natural consequence of the destruction of the human species, so emphatically regretted on the part of Mr. F---x.

Unhappy victims, there are not half so criminal as those whose lust of power, and of ambition have led thee to thy ruin. It is on them, that thy punishments should have been inflicted. What apology can a man make, who orders three hundred pikes to be forged, to be employed in the destruction of his fellow-citizens, not because he thinks one political white of a brighter color than another, but because he assumes, from the transmutation of his original name, a claim to the obsolete title of king of ----- . Thou fool of fancy, if nature had assigned thee thy part in the great drama of human life, thou wouldst have been placed in a more humble situation, best fitted to thy talents. Thou wouldst have assumed a character in which thou mightest have rendered greater benefits to society, at least the insignificance of thy rank would then have protected thee,  
and



and thy generation from that infamy, which shall in future attach itself to thy generation, as the rewards of thy infernal deserts. There thou mightest have plucked a laurel; though unlauel-like it would have withered, yet thy fate would be more enviable than to be handed down to mankind in the character of a monster of the first magnitude.

Mr. F--x in his speech to the Westminster meeting has declared, that his life, though advanced in years, has not been a very indulgent one. He himself is kind enough to assign the reason of it by asserting, that he is not free from many great defects. It is true that in an abstract point of view, private offences are not political crimes; but then like bodies of a concordant nature, the closer they come in contact with each other, the more intimately they will unite. You are informed, that at that meeting Mr. E. and the trial by jury was given by way of a toast. Perhaps it would have been more congenial with the feelings of the meeting, if prospects in view, however out of reach, but never out of sight had been given and Mr. E. you are also told that at the conclusion of the meeting, a Mr. F----n declared the political principles of Mr. F--x, to be so well known as to supercede the necessity of his publishing to the world his sentiments in respect of a parliamentary reformation. He was then in due form, proclaimed to the world as the only  
man



man whose abilities were competent to the salvation of England. *Sing lili bo lero, help them along.*

You are the best judges, whether it would not be absurd of any person, to attempt to resolve a question in the rule of three, who is totally ignorant of the first leading principles in arithmetic. Is it possible that you can announce that man sufficiently qualified to fill the important place of an accountant, that requires more knowledge than what he possesses. The bill that was brought into the English house of commons by Mr. Pit, to enlarge the powers of the bank-directors of that kingdom, that they might be enabled during their stoppage, to pay such sums of money as suited in future their circumstances, was opposed by Mr. Fox, on the principle, that no creditor should experience a greater degree of partiality than another. His motives, however liberal on the occasion, were neither political nor consistent with the welfare of her commerce.

If a discretionary power of payment had been in the first instance vested in that bank, it might have anticipated the scarcity of cash, which it has hitherto experienced. To deprive a bank of such a power, is only a prohibition, that excludes each person from lodging in future his money in that bank. It did not require any great degree of sagacity to foresee, that such an injunction imposed by government on that bank, must persuade



persuade every individual in the state from depositing there any sum of money ; for no man, however secure would be desirous of lodging his money with another, who was to deprive him in future of its use. The use of money is only to serve as a circulating medium, that one commodity may be with greater facility exchanged for another. Therefore, if the payments of that bank were partial, the issuing out the specie must have benefited the public, in proportion as it would contribute to remove any pecuniary depression under which the trade, and commerce of that country were suffering, from the want of the circulation of her current specie.

Mr. F--x is not the only person, who has subjected himself to the imputation of embracing commercial, and political opinions, that have had no better foundation for their existence than the child of fancy, or the creature of the imagination. A few instances will suffice to prove the truth of this assertion. A gentleman, whose private character is unexceptionable, and who perhaps as a military man, is very high in his profession ; a candidate of late for the city of Cork, but now one of the returned members, declared previous to the last election, in his appeal to the electors, that he opposed the rum-bill, that he, like a certain great personage, neither supported it, nor did he divide the profits of the weigh-master's place among his dependants. The question



on is now, which of the two is the greatest political culprit, he who monopolized the profits of the weigh-master's place, and who voted for the rum-bill, or he, who opposed it. He, who opposed the rum-bill, was certainly the greatest political culprit of the two, though he had not his conscience to charge with the heinous offence of monopolizing the profits of the weigh-master's place. The revenue arising from that fine-cure-office is expended in the kingdom to the emolument of its several individuals, but not so advantageously disposed of for the city of Cork, as if devoted solely to her use. If the rum-bill had passed, it would have given that liquor a decided preference, to the prejudice of the consumption of whiskey, which is manufactured from the product of your soil. The money, which was formerly remitted out of the kingdom to pay for the rum that it consumed, is now expended among you in purchasing the product of the soil, which is again disposed of in the consumption of your different manufactures.

Let it be admitted that your manufactures would be taken in exchange for the rum, still it would not be so advantageous to the kingdom at large, as the consumption of your whiskey. That kind of bartering would impede the reciprocalness of interest, that should always be taken place among the several individuals of any state. It would evidently preclude the consumption of the

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product of your soil, which if disposed of, would ultimately be exchanged for your different manufactures on more advantageous terms to the nation at large, than if they were bartered for rum. The more that liquor would be made use of, the more it would supercede the necessity of distilling whiskey. If whiskey is the beverage that is in common made use of by the people, barley from which it is produced, must therefore at all times be consumed in greater quantities. Thus the manufactures would be enriching the country, and thus the country would be enriching the manufactures. In this manner a mutual traffical intercourse must take place among the several members of the state, that will at all times more than compensate the merchant for the loss of his two and a half per cent. commission on the sale of rum.

To follow up this argument is a difficult matter, for its paths are intricate, and its ways are crooked. To leave any part of it undiscussed, would be to deprive the public of that information to which it is entitled from every individual in the state. If the consumption of the rum, which might be at any time exchanged for the manufactures of the kingdom, could be confined to the use of the manufacturers, the ills arising from such a traffical intercourse, would not be so great, as those which must otherwise be experienced by the nation at large. That kind of traffical intercourse resulting from  
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an exchange of the manufactures of the kingdom for rum, is in any point of commercial view, only a mere negative advantage. It is an injury to the state, as soon as that rum is consumed by the different peasants of every rank in the kingdom, from whom nothing has been received in exchange, but the current specie of the nation, to the impoverishment of the people. A general consumption of whiskey must anticipate that loss to the nation, which will enable her different members to consume in future more abundantly the several manufactures of the state.

However disagreeable it may be to the feelings of an author, who writes for the information of the public, to depict the fault of others; still it is a duty imposed on him with which he cannot dispense. It is from the dissection of the errors of mankind, that each individual is now better taught to conform his conduct through life, to moral and political precepts, not unanalogous to the rights of man, or to reason. Each member in the state is either more, or less interested in the discovery of every truth, that tends to promote its welfare. He, who neglects to contribute his mite towards its completion, is an enemy to himself, and a traitor to his country. A bill during the last sessions of your late parliament was brought into the house, to lower the importing duty on refined sugars into this kingdom. It was passed on the principle of its creating a competition



in your market, that your sugar-bakers should be obliged to reduce the price of the home manufacture. Some opposed it, though they knew not why, yet their parliamentary conduct on that occasion, displayed more of the amor patriæ, than those who supported that measure.

Were your protecting duties to be bartered away in that manner, on a principle as absurd, as it is erroneous, your trade, and your commerce would be monopolized by each nation, whose wealth was greater than yours. A nation whose overgrown riches will enable her merchants to give a foreign credit of eighteen, or twelve months, will prove a successful rival in any market; a rival of that nature, that no competitor can oppose, but such a one as herself. A home, not a foreign competition should be the object of every state. This circumstance will take place in every kingdom, when its different commercial members are enriched. Each then will not suffer the other to drive unrivalled a trade of a lucrative nature. Thus a competition must arise in your different markets, that would reduce the price of each article, but that would not like a foreign one entail poverty on the people.

Though an article of home manufacture is one, two, or three shillings in the pound sterling dearer than that of a foreign fabrication, still its consumption should be encouraged by the legislature. If it be attended with a pecuniary loss to any of the individuals



viduals in the state, the public good that is derived from it, is a full compensation. The money is not remitted to a foreign country to enrich strangers ; it is expended in the state, where it circulates to the emolument of all its members. Jack, and Tom, the working manufacturers are thereby enabled to consume in greater abundance the several products of the soil, and the different articles arising from your various manufactures. Thus each individual in the state is ultimately enriched, though he is obliged to pay a greater price for the home manufacture; which will be reduced in value, either sooner or later, as the commercial members of the state shall enlarge their capitals from the traffical production, and re-production of its people, arising from the consumption of the home manufactures. In this manner, the difference of price between the home and the foreign manufacture would be reduced without impoverishment to the nation, the worst of all political ills.

Behold but for a moment the wretched state of despondency to which the tenantry of this kingdom is now reduced, from as impolitic, and as vile a combination as ever disgraced the annals of a free country. Whilst you are inattentive to the voice of their complaints, your several interests are verging fast to a degree of diminution, that will either more, or less involve you in difficulties, out of which you will not so easily

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ly extricate yourselves. Your opulence is so immediately connected with their welfare, that an interruption of the one, is but a depression of the other. If self-interest was not sufficient to rouse you into action, the voice of humanity, and of justice calls loudly for your interference, unless you mean, through your inactivity, and indolence to suffer a people under your immediate protection to be oppressed, that others may in a more ample manner reap the benefits of a harvest for which they never toil.

Is there no mode to be devised to break through a combination, that is hourly reducing your tenantry to a state of bankruptcy? If the efforts of an individual were sufficiently powerful to raise at one period of last year the price of barley, how much more may be expected from a well formed union among yourselves, who, like great bodies, from your weight and influence would bear down every opposition. To ensure the honest laborious farmer, he who is justly entitled to rank the first among men, he to whom the commerce, and the manufactures of every country are indebted in the first instance for their existence, and he to whom they are equally indebted for their future prosperity, to ensure him a price for his barley proportioned to the several articles of life, you should create a competition among the buyers. If the price of that grain is suffered to be governed by their will and pleasure, that extreme avidity, which



which is so characteristic of man in all circumscribed commercial places, will exclude the husbandman from reaping equal to his deserts, the rewards of his toil, and of the sweat of his brow.

If the price of any commodity is regulated by a combination, instead of a competition, the price of that article will be governed by the arbitrary will of the buyers. There is not any commodity so immediately subject to the influence of such arbitrary control, as that of barley. Like wheat, or oats, it is of so perishable a nature, that it will not keep over an ensuing season. The buyers of that grain in the second city of your kingdom, availed themselves last season of that circumstance beyond measure; beyond what either right or justice could sanction.

Like other bodies politic, they had their meetings for the purpose of debating in full council, what was the lowest price that they could venture to give for barley. At them meetings a self-created distinction was made between what they called pale, and high-colored barley, to the prejudice of the pale, because it was greater in quantity, than that of the high-coloured; though in quality there was no difference. Each worked as well, and the malt produced from either, was equally as strong. Some of the buyers confessed, that there was not any difference between either kind of barley; still they did not scruple to avail themselves in a most ample



ample manner of that self-created distinction. In order to conceal from public view, the real cause of that self-created distinction, the buyers of the greatest note refused *una voce* to purchase the pale barley, which was bought by them of an inferior rank at whatever price they were pleased to offer. Nay, each class had its peculiar department assigned, that each should act in unison for the private emolument of the whole body.

That systematic mode of arrangement among the buyers, precluded every mode of competition, that could possibly ensure your tenantry a fair market price for their barley. Not any thing was left untried on the part of the buyers, that could possibly oblige your tenantry to submit to the yoke of so oppressive, and so impolitic a combination. In the same degree, that the countryman held over his barley for a more equitable price, it was reduced by the buyers, that from a despondency of mind your tenantry should be persuaded to dispose of it, not for what it was worth, but for whatever price the buyers were pleased to offer. If the wisdom of their measures is to be collected from the self-interested effects which they have produced, the promoters of them are entitled to much praise, and though their ingenuity is deserving of a compliment, still a want of liberality of sentiment is betrayed, that would disgrace any set of men emerging from the first stage of uncivilization.

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The measures which the buyers have practised to procure that grain from your tenantry on their own terms, are entitled to your most serious consideration, that it might impress more strongly on your minds the necessity of destroying a combination, that, whilst it is reducing your tenantry to a state of bankruptcy, it is dictating at the same time to you, the rent which you should in future expect for your grounds. There were not more than two or three houses open at one time for the reception of that grain. If it was offered for sale to any other house, the countryman was sure to be told in a triumphant manner, that it was not wanting ; though it was a well known fact, that he, to whom it was offered for sale, had not as much barley, as would command one wetting. Disappointment was not the only ill, to which your tenantry on those occasions was subject. In order to aggravate their misfortunes, that the combination should have produced a given effect, each was upbraided with not sending sooner into market his corn. It was to him assigned as the cause, that precluded him from obtaining a better price. This kind, this firen-like information was generally accompanied with some pathetic advice to the countryman, that might operate to persuade him, not to keep back in future his corn. That year's experience was on those occasions generally held forth to his view, to teach him how impolitic it was to pursue

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due a line of conduct, diametrically opposite to his interest. It was also tauntingly followed up, by telling him, that it might be hoped, he would in future profit by last year's experience.

If one were to enter into a minute detail of all the little artifices, that have been practised to impose on the countryman, it would of itself compose a large volume. The only object now in view, is to prove the reality of the combination, which, if suffered to exist, must annihilate the landed interest of this kingdom, whose dissolution, dove like, will decide the fate of your manufactures, and of your commerce. What greater proof can be given of the existence of that combination, than the sudden rise, and fall of barley, which so often took place last year, though the consumption of that grain, then kept pace with the quantity which was brought to market. It is well known that part of the same parcels of barley, which sold on a Monday for twenty-seven shillings the barrel, could not the ensuing Saturday be disposed of at the same rate for more than twenty shillings. The truth is, that the first price was only held out as a lure to the countryman, to induce him to bring the grain to market, which did produce the desired effect.

When that grain was brought to market in consequence of a higher price being proffered for it than usual, the buyers reduced it immediately ; in that case, how was the  
countryman



countryman to have acted, in order to have counteracted that perfidious mode of dealing? If he carried back his barley, the loss which he would have sustained from the devastation of vermin, and not only the further loss arising from the expence of sending it again to market, but also that to which he must have been subjected, if it either heated, or became musty in bags, would have been greater than any which he could have suffered from the difference of price. Of two evils he chose the least, therefore he disposed of his grain to them for their own price. This mode of dealing was so profitable on the part of the buyers, that they even excluded the countryman from any benefit he could derive from disposing of his barley by the sample. They would not purchase it from him, unless he brought to market three or four horse-loads of it, which they for the reasons already mentioned, bought at their own price. It is impossible to discover any reason that can justify a conduct, which displays an avidity for riches, that must impeach the manners of the most illiterate set of men. It bespeaks a degree of illiberality of mind, that characterizes the sentiments of a people emerging from a state of uncivilization.

At the time that barley was purchased in that market for twenty shillings the barrel of thirty-six stones, it was disposed of at the same rate in Youghall for thirty-six shillings, and in Dublin the averaged price was



fifty-seven shillings. This great difference of price between that, and the other two markets, places the combination in a point of view, that carries with it its own conviction. No mode was left untried; no artifice unpractised, that could possibly contribute to make that combination produce the greatest given effect. It was previous to the last season usual for the proprietors of different store-houses in the country, to purchase that grain of the farmer, which they disposed of to the consumers in that market, at a profit of two shillings by the barrel of thirty-six stones. This profit accrued from that grain's being disposed of by the barrel one shilling less in the country than the farmer could obtain from the consumer, to which he cheerfully submitted, because the expence of sending it to that market was a greater loss, than any profit that could have awaited the difference of price. The other shilling arose from a sort of commission on the part of the consumers, by way of a reward to the purchasers for their trouble and for their labor.

It was debated in full council, whether that mode of buying barley on the part of the consumers, did not militate against their several separate interests, which was carried nem. con. in the affirmative. They then resolved, that any barley which was brought to their market by boat, should not in future be purchased. Without their being able to discover the immediate cause of it, they then



then experienced, that they were supplied with that grain in less quantities than usual; it was therefore agreed on nem. con. that it should in future be purchased of those, who brought it by boat to market. Publications were accordingly sent to all the different chapels, to announce to the farmer, that the water embargo on barley had been taken off. It was then purchased as usual from the countryman by the several proprietors of the different store-houses in the country, who disposed of it to the consumers in that market. In consequence of this change in the diplomatic affairs of the consumers, they were supplied in future with such quantities of that grain, that it excluded from the market every degree of competition, which could ensure to the farmer an equitable price for his grain.

When the supply of barley by the boats was so great, as to anticipate any want of it on the part of the consumers, they would no longer purchase it from the countryman, but at a more reduced price. He was then obliged to dispose of it to the several proprietors of the different store-houses in the country, of whom the consumers would not then purchase it, unless they reduced their price. As they lowered the price of barley by the boats, they reduced in the same proportion such as was brought to market by the countryman, and so vice versa, alternately, until barley sold from ten to fifteen shillings by the barrel of thirty-six stones. Such



Such artifice, whilst it debases the mind of man, it contracts, instead of dilating those generous and humane feelings which should govern the heart, until he is rendered unworthy to be ranked amongst men. Well for that city, that she has had within her bosom more righteous persons, else, like *Sodom and Gomorrah*, long 'ere now, she would have been consumed.

If a person were desirous to wreak his vengeance on your country, he should make choice of that combination, as the fittest instrument for such a purpose. The national evils that have resulted from it, are of greater extent than the eye of a superficial observer can trace. It has, from its various operations, introduced among the people a degree of discontent, the effects of which, like an overwhelming torrent of stupendous magnitude, are ready to burst forth to confound all ranks in the state, that each member may avert those ills, which must attach themselves to him from the pecuniary poverty with which he is now visited, in consequence of that cursed combination. Thus it is possible, that every thing which is beautiful or lovely in the constitution, may with the loss of property be involved in a chaos never to be reduced to social order.

That combination has absolutely suspended the general traffical intercourse of the state, which did afford the lower ranks of the people the wonted means that enabled them to provide the bread of life. The tenant,

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nant, from the same cause, is rendered unable to discharge with punctuality his half yearly payments, and the resources of the landlord are thereby so straitened, that his income is no longer able to keep pace with his wants. Thus are the different members of the state set at variance, the one against the other; each is now administering a remedy of his own for their different complaints, by applying caustics in the place of palliatives, when all should combine against the common foe, the promoters of that vile combination.

The landlord, would most cheerfully accommodate the tenant, but for the pressing exigencies of his own affairs, and the tenant would most willingly meet the wishes of his landlord, but that that vile combination has reduced him in his circumstances to a state of bankruptcy. The landlord threatens to defrain for his rent, that it might provide against his various wants, and the tenant in order to meet the evil, enters into illegal associations. Each in defiance of every principle of wisdom and of humanity, has commenced the one against the other, hostilities, which promise to entail poverty on both parties. *Sing tanta rara rara, rogues all, rogues all.*

If the working manufacturer, and the lower class of the people, who from their being deprived of earning a daily maintenance, are now no longer interested in the welfare of the state, should unite with the peasantry,



peasantry, they must form a body, that ought to be dreaded; it will like a colossus, crush to death, on whom, or on what it shall fall. Is there no mode to be adopted to break through a commercial combination, to which that body must be indebted for its existence? A combination, which is even at variance with the interest of those who are upholding the same, and which is daily countenanced on your part by pursuing a line of conduct diametrically opposite to your welfare.

The impositions which have been practised to support that infamous combination, have not been confined to the poor industrious, laborious countryman, for its promoters have made use of you, to ensure them from it the greatest given effects. They have in a most insulting manner practised on the frailties of your nature, to make them conspire to promote their wishes.

They have persuaded you, not only to dispose of your barley to them this season, but also to deliver it, because you were promised the rise on that grain between the day of sending it to market, and the ensuing March. They have flattered you with the prospect of a golden harvest, which they will never suffer you to reap. It is as a lure held out to ensure them such a supply of barley, as will answer their purpose, until the time shall arrive, when from the poverty of the peasantry of this kingdom, your tenantry must then at the arbitrary price  
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of the consumers, dispose of their barley in quantities, that shall at all times preclude every want of that grain on the part of the buyers. Thus is excluded from the market any degree of competition, that either could ensure an advance price for the barley, which have been by you delivered on the rise, or that could obtain for your tenantry a more equitable price, than what the consumers of it are disposed to give.

Thou commercial, little minded Solomons, the poor man's fiend, the plagues of thy country, dost thou know, that with all thy cunning, and with all thy artifice, thy avidity is over-reaching thyself? In the same degree that any grain shall be depressed in value, the price of every other kind shall be lowered. Hence must be impeded the traffical intercourse of the state to which thee are solely indebted for thy gains. What does thy combination avail thee, if by confining thy profit only to eight shillings on the disposing of two barrels, at the rate of four shillings by the barrel, it deprives thee in the course of thy business, of a profit of twelve shillings on the sale of six barrels, at the rate of two shillings the barrel. Thus thee may behold, that the vender is more enriched by the greatness of the quantity which shall be disposed of, than from that of the price.

There is another material difference, between the profit of eight, and that of twelve  
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shillings. The first, from the pernicious effects arising out of the cause to which it is indebted for its existence, must be subject to a daily decrease. The other, which results from a cause, whose benign social effects, will at all times be extending the commercial traffical intercourse of the state, shall be incessantly encreasing from the greater number of barrels, which must of course be purchased from those who manufacture that grain, into the common beverage made use of by the people. The same cause from which the profit of twelve shillings arises, is still further enlarging it, in proportion as the benign effects of its causes shall extend the sphere of your various manufactures. In the same degree that it would be enlarged, the several capitals of your different manufacturers must be encreased; in this manner, they are enabled to meet a competition in a foreign market, where their goods are purchased to the emolument of the state, whose members are thereby enabled to consume in greater quantities, the various liquors manufactured from barley.

The purchasers of that grain, have entered into a combination, that, like an hereditary entail, it should ensure to them, and to their successors in perpetuity, the fruits of their most infamous schemes. Do you require more convincing proofs to assure you of their intentions? They have declared, that the late opulence of your tenantry, if suffered to exist, must at all times interfere  
with



with the gratifying to the full their enormous avarice. They assigned it as the cause, that did exclude every combination by which they could be more enriched in a less given time. To reduce that opulence is now their sole object, that the future poverty of your tenantry, and an incessant importunity for the payment of the half-yearly rent, should oblige the countryman to dispose of his barley at the arbitrary valuation of the buyers.

It is submitted to the superior wisdom of the men of landed interest, whether they will suffer a combination to exist, that must reduce the peasant to a state of bankruptcy, and that will ultimately entail poverty on themselves. Nothing can be more practicable, than to destroy that commercial monster, though it were another hydra. Such gentlemen farmers, as are in the habit of sowing barley in the place of wheat or of oats, should seriously reflect, whether the profit, which accrues from it, is not in its consequences less beneficial to them, than the advantages which their several tenants would derive from landlords sowing either wheat or oats, in preference to barley.

If such a system was to be generally adopted on the part of the various landlords of this kingdom, the quantity of barley, which is now brought to market, would in future be so reduced, that it would create among the buyers a competition, which would ensure their tenantry a better



price than what they have of late experienced. When it does take place, it shall enable them to discharge their half-yearly rents, with a degree of punctuality that will administer more effectual relief to the pressing exigencies of the landlord, than any which he could expect to derive from the profit arising from the sale of barley in preference to that of either wheat or oats.

Each landlord must behold, that the interest of the tenant is but another word, that implies his own welfare, and that every thing which impedes the prosperity of the tenant must effect the interest of the landlord. He should therefore sacrifice his own little schemes whenever they come into competition with the welfare of his tenant. None should more observe that line of conduct, than the intermediate landlord, who cannot separate his interest from the tenants without exposing himself to inevitable destruction. What would it avail to him, to gain an annual income of forty pounds sterling by sowing barley in preference to wheat, or to oats, if it reduced the circumstances of the under-tenant in such a manner as to render him incapable of discharging his half-yearly rent, out of which he enjoys an income of one hundred pounds sterling per annum?

The truth is, there is no profit to be acquired from the sowing of barley, unless the various landlords will forego the sowing of it as usual. Why then not subscribe  
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to a measure, that would not only benefit the tenant, but must ultimately enrich the landlord? Each party would then derive peculiar benefits; from the participation of which both are now excluded. The tenant would then have it in his power to pay as usual without murmuring his half-yearly gales, which would ensure to the landlord the full enjoyment of his rental, without its being subject to any future diminution, whilst his affluence would secure at all times, an equal return for his wheat, from his being thereby enabled to hold it over for a better price.

If the reducing of the annual produce of that grain shall create a competition among the buyers, that would enhance its price to the benefit of the tenant, such a circumstance must ultimately enrich the landlord infinitely more than any profit he can possibly derive from the sale of a few barrels of barley. The different improvements of the land by the occupier, would then at all times keep pace with his growing opulence, which must not only protect him in future from the devouring jaws of commercial combining harpies, but which must also establish such an invariable equitable price, that like an hereditary entail, it would ensure to the landlord, and to his successors every benefit that can be derived from the future improvements of the soil. “ *Its past conjecture, all things rise in proof.*”

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